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1. The first step in the process of developing a new product is to identify the market needs.

2. Once the market needs are identified, the next step is to develop a product concept.

3. The third step is to conduct market research to validate the product concept.

4. The fourth step is to develop a marketing plan to promote the product.

5. The fifth step is to manufacture the product and distribute it to the market.

6. The sixth step is to monitor the market response and make necessary adjustments to the product or marketing plan.

7. The seventh step is to evaluate the success of the product and make necessary improvements for future products.

8. The eighth step is to repeat the process for the development of new products.

9. The ninth step is to continuously improve the product development process based on feedback from customers and market trends.

10. The tenth step is to maintain a strong relationship with the market and stay updated with the latest trends and technologies.

11. The eleventh step is to continuously refine the product development process to ensure maximum efficiency and effectiveness.

12. The twelfth step is to continuously evaluate the success of the product and make necessary improvements for future products.

13. The thirteenth step is to continuously improve the product development process based on feedback from customers and market trends.

14. The fourteenth step is to maintain a strong relationship with the market and stay updated with the latest trends and technologies.

15. The fifteenth step is to continuously refine the product development process to ensure maximum efficiency and effectiveness.

16. The sixteenth step is to continuously evaluate the success of the product and make necessary improvements for future products.

17. The seventeenth step is to continuously improve the product development process based on feedback from customers and market trends.

18. The eighteenth step is to maintain a strong relationship with the market and stay updated with the latest trends and technologies.

19. The nineteenth step is to continuously refine the product development process to ensure maximum efficiency and effectiveness.

20. The twentieth step is to continuously evaluate the success of the product and make necessary improvements for future products.

21. The twenty-first step is to continuously improve the product development process based on feedback from customers and market trends.

22. The twenty-second step is to maintain a strong relationship with the market and stay updated with the latest trends and technologies.

23. The twenty-third step is to continuously refine the product development process to ensure maximum efficiency and effectiveness.

24. The twenty-fourth step is to continuously evaluate the success of the product and make necessary improvements for future products.

25. The twenty-fifth step is to continuously improve the product development process based on feedback from customers and market trends.

26. The twenty-sixth step is to maintain a strong relationship with the market and stay updated with the latest trends and technologies.

27. The twenty-seventh step is to continuously refine the product development process to ensure maximum efficiency and effectiveness.

28. The twenty-eighth step is to continuously evaluate the success of the product and make necessary improvements for future products.

29. The twenty-ninth step is to continuously improve the product development process based on feedback from customers and market trends.

30. The thirtieth step is to maintain a strong relationship with the market and stay updated with the latest trends and technologies.

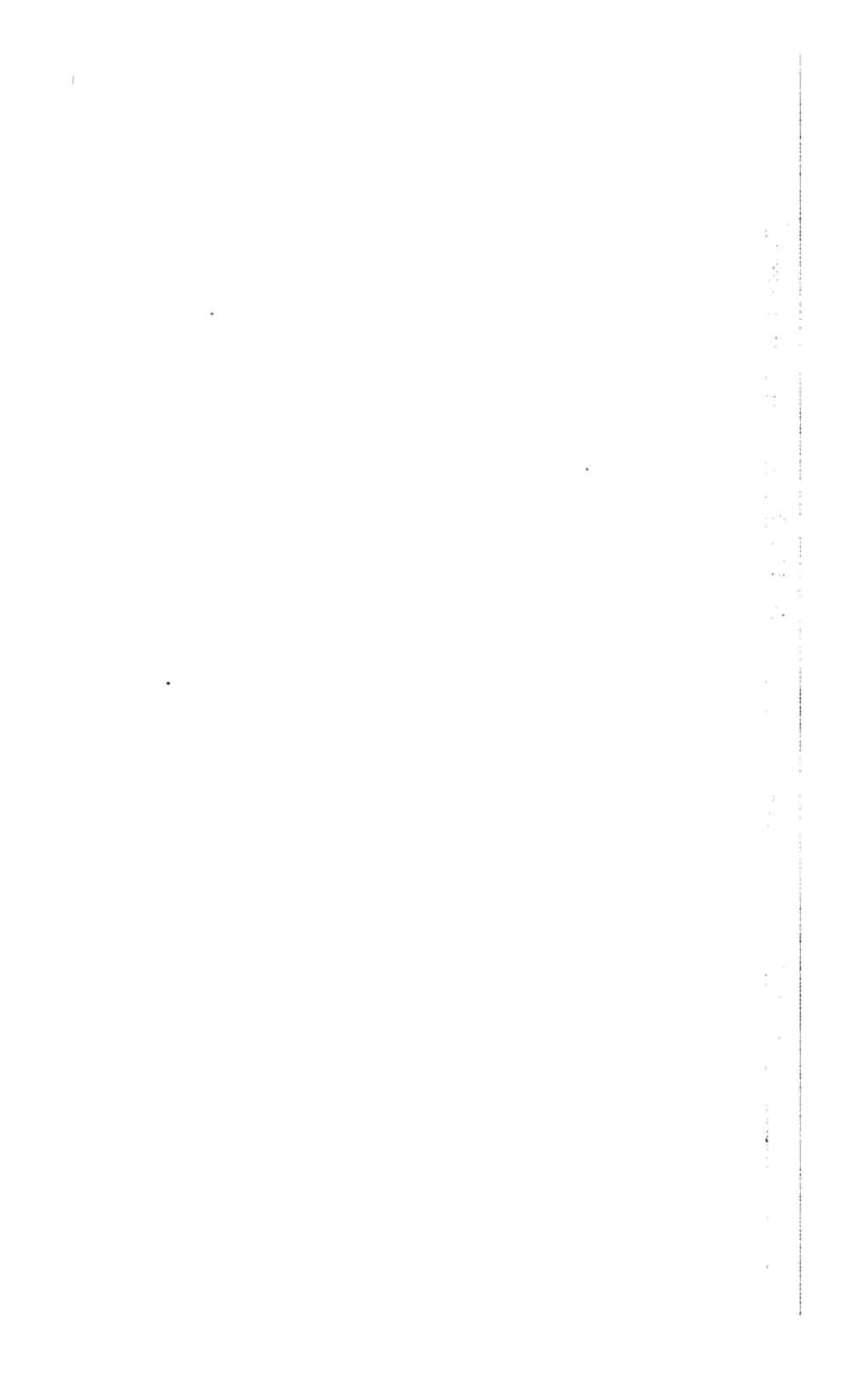
31. The thirty-first step is to continuously refine the product development process to ensure maximum efficiency and effectiveness.

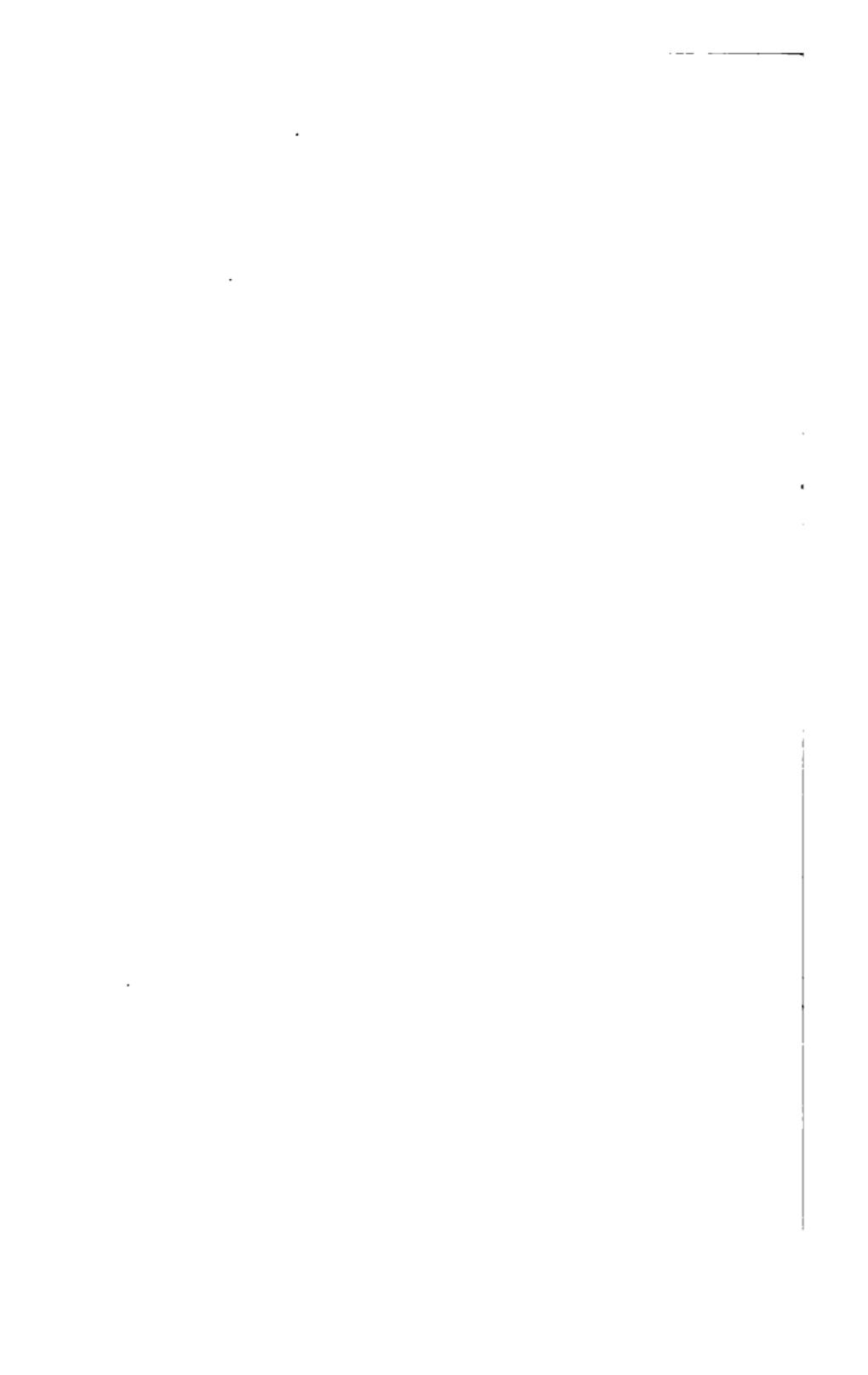
32. The thirty-second step is to continuously evaluate the success of the product and make necessary improvements for future products.

33. The thirty-third step is to continuously improve the product development process based on feedback from customers and market trends.

34. The thirty-fourth step is to maintain a strong relationship with the market and stay updated with the latest trends and technologies.

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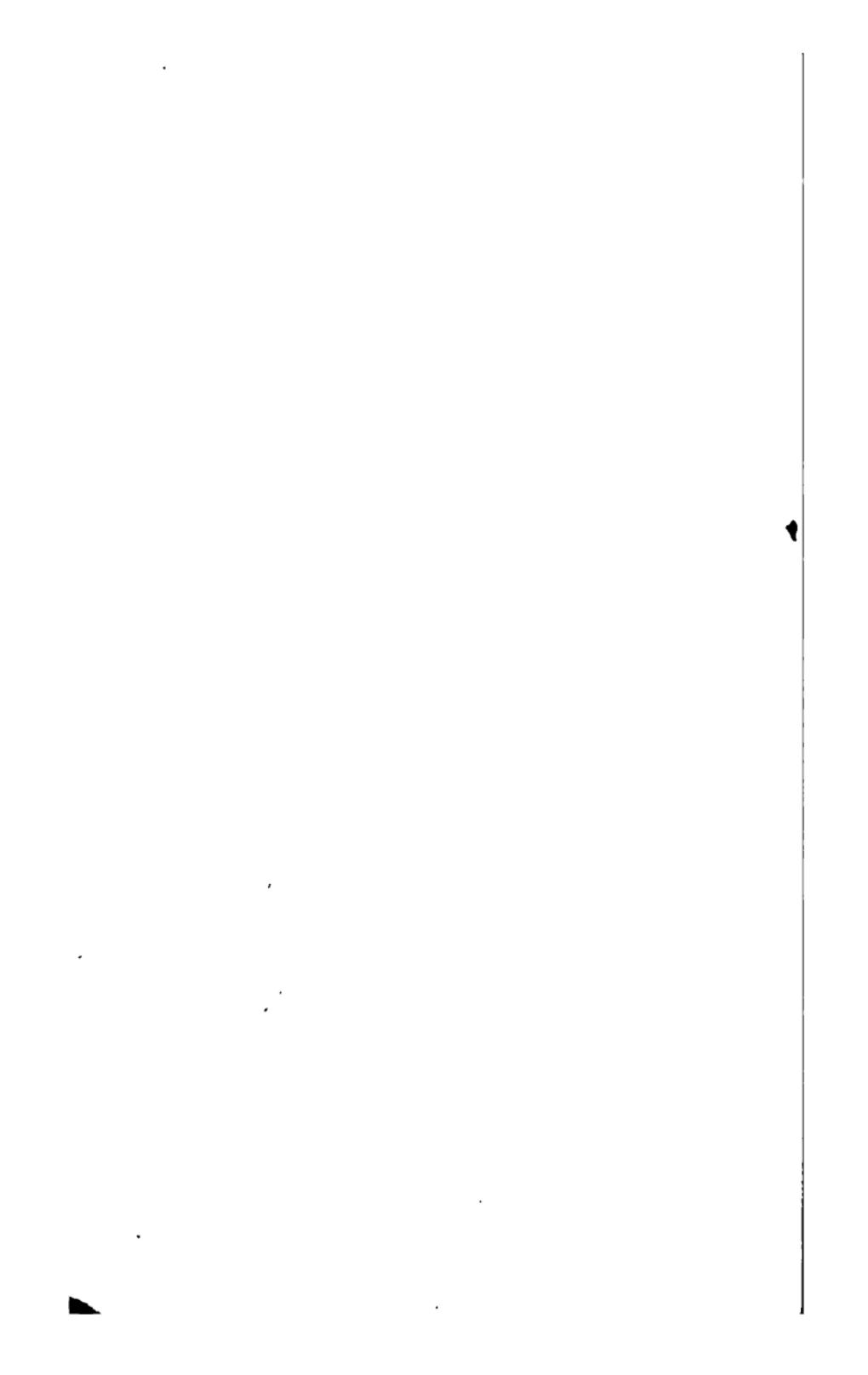
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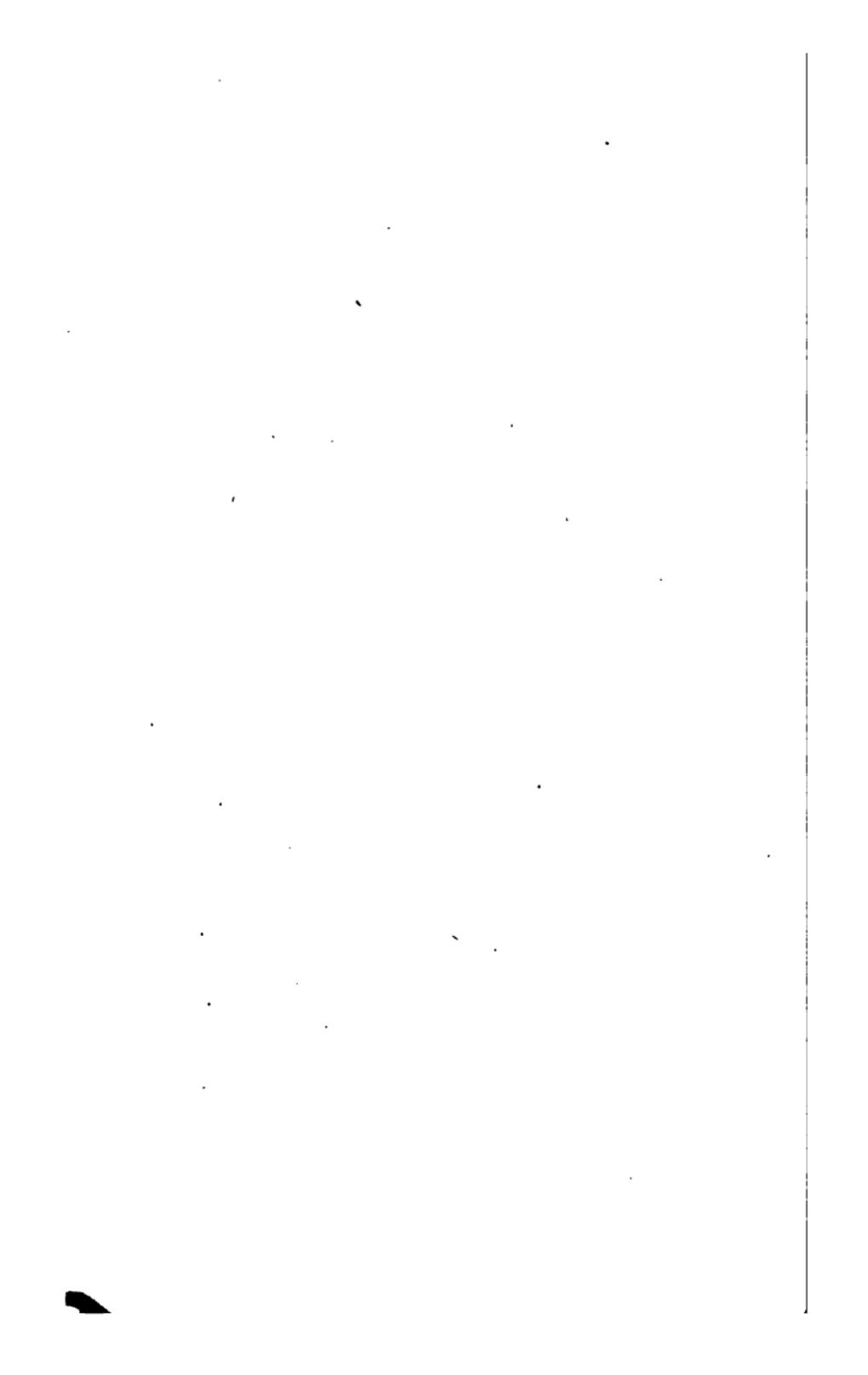
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T A B L E,
ANALYTICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL,
TO THE FIRST VOLUME OF
EUROPE DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

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TABLE OF KINGS.

TABLE I.*

NATIVE KINGS OF BURGUNDY.

Name.	Began to reign. A. D.	Name.	Began to reign. A. D.
Gondecar -	- 413—463	St. Sigismund	- 515—523
Gondebald -	- 463—515	Godemar -	- 523—534

Dethroned, and his kingdom passed to the Merovingian kings.

TABLE II.

MEROVINGIAN SOVEREIGNS OF FRANCE AND GERMANY.

Clovis I. (<i>sovereign of all France, except Burgundy</i>)	481—511
Thierry I.	
Clodomir	
Childebert I.	
Clothaire I.	

(co-heirs of the monarchy, with the addition of Burgundy)

By the death or defeat of his brothers and nephews, the last-named prince remained sole monarch of France and the German provinces. After his death France was divided among his four sons, into four kingdoms,—Neustria, Austrasia, Burgundy, and Aquitaine.

* It was here our intention to draw up a chronological list of the popes; but as this has been lately done in the forty-fourth volume of the CABINET CYCLOPEDIA, by sir Harris Nicolas (extracted from L'Art de Vérifier les Dates), we refer to it.

TABLE OF KINGS.

TABLE II. — *continued.*

NEUSTRIA.		AUSTRIA.		BURGUNDY.		AQUITAINE.	
Name.	Began to reign. A. D.	Name.	Began to reign. A. D.	Name.	Began to reign. A. D.	Name.	Began to reign. A. D.
Chilperic I.	- 561—584	Sigebert I.	- 561—575	Gontram	-	Charibert I.	561—567
Clothaire II.	- 584—628	Childébert II.	- 575—596	Childébert II.	-	Charibert I.	561—593
Dagobert I.	- 628—638	Theudebert	- 596—612	Thierry II.	-	Charibert II.	593—596
Clavis II.	- 638—654	Thierry II.	- 612—613	Clothaire III.	-	Charibert II.	596—613
Clothaire III.	- 660—670	Clothaire II.	- 613—622	Dagobert I.	-	Charibert II.	613—628
Thierry III.	- 670—691	Dagobert I.	- 622—633	Clovis II.	-	Charibert II.	628—638
Clovis III.	- 691—695	Sigebert II.	- 633—650	Clothaire III.	-	Charibert II.	638—654
Childébert III.	- 695—711	Clovis II.	- 650—654	Thierry III.	-	Charibert II.	660—670
Dagobert III.	- 711—715	Childeric II.	- 660—673	Clovis III.	-	Charibert II.	670—691
Chilperic II.	- 715—720	Dagobert II.	- 673—678	Childébert III.	-	Charibert II.	691—695
Thierry IV.	- 720—737	Clothaire IV.	- 717—719	Dagobert III.	-	Charibert II.	695—711
Childeric III.	- 742—752	Chilperic II.	- 719—720	Chilperic II.	-	Charibert II.	711—715
Childeric IV.	- 752—797	Thierry IV.	- 720—737	Thierry IV.	-	Charibert II.	715—720
						Charibert II.	720—737

N. B. It will be readily perceived that some of the above monarchs were sovereigns of all the three kingdoms at the same time.

TABLE III.

CARLOVINGIAN SOVEREIGNS OF FRANCE AND GERMANY.*

Name.	Began to reign.	A. D.	Name.	Began to reign.	A. D.
Pepin -	- 752—768		Louis II.	- 855—875	
Charlemagne†	- 768—818		Charles II. (Le Chauve)	- 875—877	
Louis I. (le Débonnaire)	- 814—840		Charles III. (le Gros)	- 877—888	
Lothaire I.	- 840—855				

TABLE IV.

KINGS OF FRANCE.

1. *Dynasty of Charlemagne continued.*

Eudes -	- 888—898	Rudolf -	- 929—936
Charles IV. (the Simple) -	898—922	Louis IV.‡	- 936—954
Robert I. -	922—923	Lothaire II. -	954—986

2. *Dynasty of Capet.*

Hugh -	- 987—996	Louis IX. (St.)	1226—1270
Robert II. -	996—1031	Philip III.	- 1270—1284
Henry I. -	1031—1060	Philip IV. (le Bel)	- 1284—1314
Philip I. -	1060—1108	Louis X. (Hu-tin)	- 1314—1316
Louis VI. (le Gros) -	1108—1137	Philip V. (le Long)	- 1316—1322
Louis VII. (le Jeune) -	1137—1180	Charles IV.§ (le Bel)	- 1322—1328
Philip II. (Augustus) -	1180—1223		
Louis VIII. -	1223—1226		

* We omit the perpetually changing kingdoms of Aquitaine, Lorraine, Provence, Bavaria, Saxony, Swabia, &c. which were too transient to arrest the attention.

† His brother Carloman reigned a short time over Austrasia.

‡ The third Louis was a king of Saxony.

§ This monarch ought to be classed as the *fifth* Charles; but, as confusion might be occasioned by changing the numeral, we follow the French historians. In fact an alteration here would change the denomination of every monarch from Charles IV. to Charles X.

3. *Dynasty of Valois.*

Name.	Began to reign. A.D.	Name.	Began to reign. A.D.
Philip VI. (de Valois)	- 1328—1350	Charles VI.	- 1380—1422
John -	- 1350—1364	Charles VII.	- 1422—1461
Charles V.	- 1364—1380	Louis XI.	- 1461—1483
		Charles VIII.	- 1483—1498

TABLE V.

EMPERORS OF GERMANY.

1. *House of Charlemagne.*

Arnulf	- 888—899	Louis IV.	- 899—910
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2. *House of Saxony.*

Conrad I.*	- 911—919	Otho II.	- 973—993
Henry I. (the Fowler)	- 919—936	Otho III.	- 993—1002
Otho I. (the Great)	- 936—973	Henry II. (the Saint)	- 1002—1024

3. *House of Franconia.*

Conrad II.	- 1024—1039	Henry V.	- 1106—1125
Henry III.	- 1039—1056	Lothaire II.†	- 1125—1137
Henry IV.	- 1056—1106		

4. *House of Swabia or Hohenstauffen.*

Conrad III.	- 1137—1152	Philip	- 1197—1208
Frederic I. (Bar- barossa)	- 1152—1190	Otho IV.‡	- 1209—1212
Henry VI.	. 1190—1197	Frederic II.	- 1212—1250
		Conrad IV.	. 1250—1254

5. *Foreign Houses.*

William of Hol- land	- 1254—1256	Richard of Cornwall	- 1256—1271
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* Though classed under this head by the German historians, Conrad was of the house of Franconia.

† This prince, though classed under the house of Franconia, was of the house of Saxony.

‡ Otho was of the house of Brunswick, a branch of the house of Saxony.

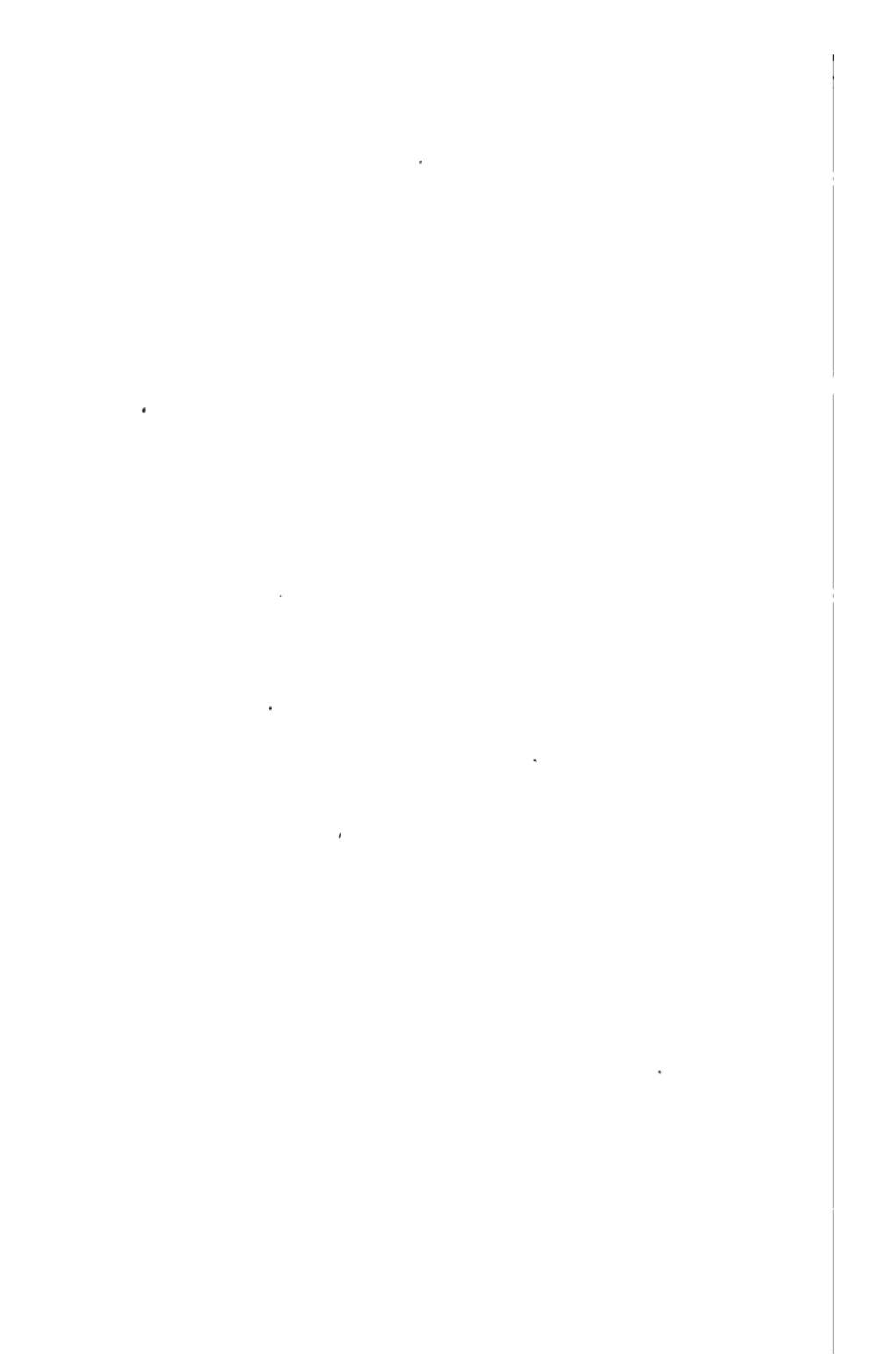
6. *Houses of Hapsburg, Luxemburg, and Bavaria.*

Name.	Began to reign. A.D.	Name.	Began to reign. A.D.
Rudolf I.	- 1271—1291	Charles IV.	- 1347—1378
Adolf	- 1291—1298	Wenceslas	- 1378—1400
Albert I.	- 1298—1308	Robert	- 1400—1410
Henry VII.	- 1308—1313	Sigismund	- 1410—1487
Louis V.	- 1313—1347		

7. *House of Austria.**

Albert II.	- 1487—1489	Maximilian I.	- 1493—151
Frederic III.	- 1493—1499		

* Descended from that of Hapsburg. This house has reigned ever since.



EUROPE

DURING

THE MIDDLE AGES.

SECTION II.

GERMANIC EUROPE.

BOOK I.

GERMANY AND FRANCE.

CHAP. I.

POLITICAL AND CIVIL HISTORY OF GERMANY AND FRANCE.

400—1498.

I. GERMANY AND FRANCE.—THE MEROVINGIAN AND CARLOVINGIAN DYNASTIES.—II. FRANCE.—THE DYNASTIES OF CHARLEMAGNE, CAPET, AND VALOIS.—PROGRESS OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM, AND OF SOCIETY.—III. GERMANY.—HOUSES OF CHARLEMAGNE, SAXONY, FRANCONIA, HOHENSTAUFFEN, HAPSBURG, LUXEMBURG, AND BAVARIA.—SOCIETY OF THE GERMANS.—IV. GERMANIC JURISPRUDENCE.

I. GERMANY AND FRANCE.—In the reign of Honorius, the barbarians, who had before so frequently assailed the Gauls, became too powerful to be repelled. It was now that the Franks, the Saxons, the Allemanni or

Swabians, the Goths, the Gepidæ, the Vandals, and other nations, prepared to forsake their forests, and to taste the sweets of more favoured countries. To fix the limits of nations, of which most were migratory, would be a vain attempt ; but their location at the opening of the fifth century is not difficult to be assigned. The Franks were, like the other German people, not so much a nation, as a confederation of various tribes — all, indeed, speaking the same language — for the purposes of common defence and of aggression. They occupied much of the country between the mouths of the Elbe and of the Meuse, or Holland, with part of Friesland, and Westphalia. It is, however, probable that Friesland and Westphalia contained more Saxons than Franks. The Frank, or free man, was a noble distinction * ; and so was that of the Allemanni, or true men, who consisted of many tribes bound together in one close confederation, and who, during the middle ages, are more generally known as Swabians. This latter denomination originated in the fact, that, as the Suevi were the most distinguished of the tribes thus amalgamated, they might justly give their name to the whole. They occupied the eastern bank of the Rhine, from its junction with the Mein to the Lake of Constance, and they stretched eastward into Bohemia. The Saxons originally inhabited the country about the mouth of the Elbe, chiefly the duchies of Holstein and Bremen, with a part of Lunenburg ; subsequently they stretched considerably into the present kingdom of Hanover, and probably into Frisia. However geographers may dispute as to their ancient diminutive territory, which appears to have been continually varying in extent, one thing is certain, that in the fifth century they were numerous enough to keep the maritime coasts of France in perpetual dread, and to conquer England ; in the eighth,

* Might not the word also signify *exempt* from the ordinary contributions imposed on the conquered Gauls ? Yet the name existed before the Gauls were conquered ; in the second century. It has been derived too from the *franciscus*, the hatchet or battle-axe, wielded by this people ; but there can be no doubt that the weapon derived its name from the people who used it. Vide Ducange, ad vocem.

to defy the powerful Charlemagne. Eastward of the Saxons were the Vandals, who inhabited the coasts of Mecklenburg and Pomerania as far as the mouth of the Oder. Still eastward, to the banks of the Vistula, lay the Goths, who were closely allied with the Vandals, and whose frequent migrations struck so much fear into the Romans. In the year 376 they had extended their frontier to the north of the Euxine, when an irruption of the Huns forced them back on the Danube, which they crossed, to settle in the plains of Thrace. The Burgundians, the Heruli, and the Lombards were but different branches of the great Gothic stock ; the first, as their name imports, were the inhabitants of towns, and they dwelt on the German and Polish frontiers ; the second were much more eastward, to the banks of the Palus Maeotis : the Lombards were between the Heruli and the Burgundians, chiefly in the northern parts of Pannonia. Anciently the Lombards came from Scandinavia, and in the time of Tacitus they lay between the Elbe and the Oder ; but as the great Gothic nation to which they belonged spread to the east and south, they accompanied its migrations. Next to them were the Gepidae, a kindred tribe ; yet this undoubted affinity did not prevent Alboin, chief of the Lombards, from making war on them, nor from turning the skull of their vanquished king into a drinking cup.* All these people, from the Franks to the Heruli, however widely separated, were of the same original Gothic or Scythian stock, which appears to have entered Europe some centuries before the Christian period. Before their arrival, the Kimmerians or Kimbri, and Kelts,—whether they were identical or even kindred has fruitlessly exercised the ingenuity of the learned,—occupied a part of Germany, the Gauls, the shores of the Baltic, the British Isles, much of Spain, and were powerful enough to lay waste Greece and Italy. The Goths or Scythians forced them to the western regions of Europe, just as, a few centuries later, the Slavi, the third great

* See Vol. I. page 5.

horde of Asiatic invaders, expelled the Goths from eastern Europe. These successive irruptions of the great Asiatic races is manifest from the dissimilarity of their language, which yet exists in different parts of Europe. Thus, while the Welsh, the Armorican, and perhaps the Gaelic, may be referred to the Kimmerian or Kimbrian stock, the English or Anglo-Saxon, the Lowland Scotch, the Dutch, the Flemish, the German, the Danish and Swedish, claim kindred with the ancient Gothic or Teutonic; while the Polish, the Russian, and the Hungarian may be as satisfactorily traced to the Slavonic. These three great originals, indeed, do not comprehend all the languages of Europe; two or three remain, which refuse to recognise the paternity of any. The ancient Norwegian or Icelandic, though generally confounded with the Gothic or Teutonic, was certainly as distinct from it as from the Keltic and the Slavonic *, while the Finnish and the Basque have no affinity with any European language.†

400 The torrent of Asiatic migration soon made a remarkable change in the location of these people. The
 478. Sarmatians were first affected by it; they were forced to encroach on the Germans, and the Germans on the Gauls. One division of the Goths entered Italy; another, swelled by the ranks of the Burgundians, Suevi, Vandals, and Alans, hastened towards the Rhine, from which the Roman legions had been drawn for the defence of Italy. The Franks, however, who had for some time been the acknowledged allies of the empire, made a vigorous effort to prevent an entrance into Gaul. In the first battle, against the Vandals alone, they were

* Had Dr. Percy and Mr. Turner examined closely, they would not have included the Icelandic (the ancient Norwegian) under the Gothic head; nor, perhaps, the Gaelic under the Keltic. The Gaelic bears more resemblance to the Icelandic than it does to the Welsh. Vernacular languages, however, have been so intermixed, that, though a certain class of words may seem to predominate, it is hardly possible to say from what stock any particular language is derived.

† Procopius, in *Bello Vandalico*, lib. i. cap. 2, 3. Jornandes, *de Rebus Geticis*, cap. 1—30. (in multis locis). Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 17. 30, 31. Luden, *Geschichte der Teutschen Voikes*, vol. ii. Mannert, *Geschichte der Aitzen Deutschen*, p. 29, &c. Siamondi, *Histoire des François*, tom. i. p. 114, &c.

victorious ; but the Alans arriving, they were vanquished in their turn. The great river was cleared ; the cities of the Netherlands and of Gaul were sacked ; the people were led away captive into Germany by that portion of the invaders which returned to their native seats ; while the rest ravaged the country from the Scheldt to the Pyrenees. The Vandals, the Suevi, and the Alans soon passed that mountain barrier to spread equal desolation through Spain.. To end these horrors, Honorius adopted a notable expedient. He proposed to the Wisigoths, who had first sacked Rome, and whose king, Ataulphus, had captured his sister Placidia, that, if they could force southern Gaul and the Peninsula from the hostile tribes, they should possess as allies those fertile provinces. The proposal was accepted ; and the brother-in-law of Honorius founded the Visigothic sovereignty, which, until the invasion of the Arabs, subsisted with great glory,—the court for some reigns remaining at Toulouse or Narbonne, before it was transferred to Toledo. A similar offer was made to the Burgundians, who settled in the eastern parts of Gaul from the junction of the Moselle and the Rhine to the Lake of Geneva. They, too, had a royal government, and they, too, were often distracted by the rivalry of their chiefs. -The rest of Gaul was still immediately dependent on the empire, which even regarded the Visigoths and the Burgundians rather as subjects than allies. As the Gaulish inhabitants—a mixed breed of Kelts and Romans—possessed the country when these two numerous tribes arrived among them, it may be asked, how could the strangers be maintained ? where could local abodes be found for them ? In the first place, as the country had been much depopulated by the irruptions of the barbarian tribes, and by its inevitable result, famine, there was not merely room, but a necessity, for new cultivators. There was, however, a singular compact between the stranger and the native,— that the latter, as the price of protection, and as the condition of exemption from all military contri-

butions, should surrender to the former two thirds of the lands he possessed. We may readily conceive that, however agreeable this lion's share might have been to the Wisigoth and the Burgundian, it must have been galling to the poor native; but he could not resist the fiat of the emperor, executed as it was by a host of armed warriors. In regard to the Burgundians, indeed, the bitter feeling might be allayed by their conversion from pagan idolatry to Christianity,—a conversion celebrated by Orosius, who adds, that both conquerors and conquered thenceforth regarded themselves as brethren in Jesus Christ. The Burgundians and Wisigoths were not naturally hostile to each other; they were more anxious to extend their territory at the expense of that portion of Gaul which still obeyed the western emperors. Their attempts were repulsed first by the valour of Ætius, the imperial general, and next by the invasion of Attila, who in 451 poured his vast hordes across the Rhine. As they had more to fear from the Huns, who had resolved to exterminate them, than from the feeble Romans, they readily joined with Ætius to repel the destructive tide. On the plains of Châlons-sur-Saône it was arrested, and made to roll back towards Germany. From thence it inundated Italy, and was one of the causes which led to the subsequent revolutions of the empire, until that empire was subverted by Odoacer the Mercenary.*

- 481 The Burgundians and the Wisigoths had been es-
 to tablished in Gaul nearly a century before the Franks
 496. obtained any domination in it. From their possessions
 in the Low Countries they had frequently made hostile
 inroads on the possessions yet remaining to the empire;
 but as they did not act in concert, as they were subject

* S. Gregorius Turonensis, *Historia Ecclesiastica Francorum*, lib. ii. Prosperus Aquitanus, *Chronicon*, 295—318. Idatius, *Chronicon*, p. 361. Jornandes, *de Rebus Geticis*, cap. 30—49. Orosius, *Historiarum adversus Paganos*, lib. vii. cap. 43, &c. S. Isidorus, *de Regibus Gothorum*, p. 476. Procopius, *de Bello Vandalico*, lib. iii. Sanctus Hieronymus, *Epist. ad Achernum*, ep. 91. Mannert, *Geschichte der Alten Deutschen*, p. 59, &c. See, also, *History of Spain and Portugal*, vol. i. book ii. chap. 1, and vol. i. p. 3. of *Europe during the Middle Ages* (CAM CYC.).

to several independent reguli, they derived no advantage beyond plunder. These hostilities were recent. During two centuries the Franks had been the allies of the empire; and, by the grants of lands, had been gradually driven from their marshes in the north to the fertile plains of the Low Countries. Consisting of about twenty confederated tribes, unity of purpose was not to be expected; yet these reguli boasted of their common descent from a famous hero, Merowé (Meer-wig, signifying, warrior of the sea), who, at some period not very definable, was recognised as the head of all. Identity of manners and of language, kindred ties, and a community of interests, led them always to associate whenever any national advantage was to be secured. In 481 we first hear of Clovis, one of their princes, who, being then only fifteen years of age, succeeded to the government of his father Childeric over the Salian Franks of Tournay and its vicinity. Five years afterwards he associated with another king of the Franks at Cambray, in a war on Syagrius, the Roman governor of that part of Gaul which yet adhered to a state no longer existing. Syagrius, being defeated, sought a refuge, and even solicited aid, from Alaric, king of the Visigoths, at Toulouse; but he was basely surrendered to Clovis, who put him to death. Soissons, with abundance of spoil, was the reward of this victory over the Roman. Tongres and its territory were next subdued. The savage Frank, like all his subjects, was a pagan; yet, in 493, he demanded and obtained the hand of Clotilda, a Christian princess of Burgundy: she was the granddaughter of Gondecar, the first sovereign of that country. On the death of Gondecar, his four sons jointly succeeded to the kingdom, which they soon divided. This barbaric custom had its inevitable effect among such a people,— a civil war, in which two brothers, Chilperic and Godemar, perished; the one by the hand, the other at the express command, of Gundebald, the eldest. The wife of Chilperic, with a stone round her neck, was cast into the Rhone; his two sons were be-

headed ; his two daughters, of whom one was Clotilda
were suffered to live.*

493 The marriage of Clovis with the devout Clotilda, led
to both to his conversion and to that of his subjects. During
561. three years her exhortations were without visible effect,
but that they sunk deeply into his mind may be inferred
from two circumstances. He suffered his infant son to
be baptised ; and, in a battle, near Cologne, to repel an
invasion of the Swabians, he vowed, when the fortune
of the day appeared hopeless, that if he should remain
victor he would ascribe the glory to the God of his
queen, and embrace her religion. He was more than
victor ; for not only did he defeat the enemy and kill
their king, but they voluntarily offered to fight under
his standard : henceforth he could lead to the field a
respectable army, instead of the three or four thousand
men whom he hereditarily commanded. He kept his
vow : on Christmas day, 496, he received the baptismal
sacrament from the hands of St. Remi, in the cathedral
of Rheims. As the venerable prelate threw over him
the consecrating water, he exclaimed, “ Bow thine head
with humility. Henceforth adore what thou hast burnt,
and burn what thou hast adored ! ” His conversion did
more for the ambition of Clovis than could have been
effected by the greatest army ; it disposed the Gauls to
pray for his success, and it rendered them doubly averse
to the Arian governments of Burgundy and Toulouse.
That such success must have been rapid, though no
details remain of it, is certain ; for in 500 his sway was
extended westward to the sea coast of Armorica, south-
ward to the Loire, and eastward to the Rhone : it con-
sequently included the central and fairest portion of
Gaul, and was bounded on one side by the Burgundian,
on another by the Visigothic sovereignty. After the
conquest of Soissons he had removed his court to that
city ; he now transferred it to a more central situation,

* Chiefly the same authorities, with the addition of Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistole*, lib. v. vi. et vii. ; of the anonymous *Gesta Regum Francorum*, *passim* ; and of Simeon, *Histoire des Francais*, tom. i.

Paris. With his prosperity increased his ambition. His first efforts were turned against Burgundy, which comprehended not only the province of that name, but Switzerland, Dauphiné, and Provence. The ferocious Gundebald, who had committed two fratricides, and who soon added a third by murdering his only remaining brother at the very altar, was forced to pay tribute: had he not redressed the wrongs of his Roman subjects, and suddenly become the protector of the catholic no less than of the Arian churches, he would, doubtless, have lost his throne. Clovis next turned his arms against the Wisigoths, whom he overthrew on the plains of Vouglé; their king, Alaric, remaining dead on the field. This victory was followed by the reduction of Toulouse, Bordeaux, and Aquitaine: it would have been followed by the expulsion of the Wisigoths from Gaul, had not Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, despatched an army to the succour of his nation, and defeated both Clovis and the Burgundians, who had invaded Languedoc. But the Frank king retained most of his conquests; and was soon consoled for his check, by receiving from the Greek emperor, the enemy of Theodoric, the consular and patrician dignity,—an honour which, though barren, was highly valued by himself and subjects. Resolved to be the founder of a great kingdom, he did not hesitate to plan the destruction of the other Frank sovereigns. He instigated the assassination of Sigebert, king of the Ripuarii, whom he persuaded to acknowledge his authority. Carraric, another Frank prince, who reigned along the borders of the British Channel, he forced into the cloister, and afterwards murdered, together with the son of Carraric. The Frank king of Cambray, though his old ally, he treacherously drew into his power, and murdered with his own hand; and he exterminated the other princes of the family. Other tribes had their long-haired princes, whom he successively seized and put to death, until he remained the sole sovereign of the nation. His crimes, horrible as they were, did not alienate the clergy, to whom he

proved a constant benefactor. In conformity with the false opinions of the age, his guilt was probably considered as cancelled by his numerous religious foundations, and by the immunity which he extended to the now ample possessions of the church. After his death in 511, his states were divided among his four sons, who fixed their royal residences at Paris, Orleans, Soissons, and Metz. In the reign of Clovis a new monarchy had been formed beyond the Rhine,—that of the Thuringians, who, after their incorporation with other tribes, fell on the trans-Rhenish Franks. The latter implored the aid of their kindred tribes in Gaul: Thierry, the eldest, and Clothaire, another son of Clovis, carried the war into Thuringia. These princes triumphed over the enemy, whose rulers they exterminated, and whose country Thierry added to his possessions. Some of king Hermanfric's children, however, escaped into Italy, whence, in the sequel, they appear to have returned, and to have given rise to the ducal house of Thuringia. In the same manner the duchies of Swabia and Bavaria were added to the domains of Thierry; so that the empire of the Franks now extended from Bohemia to the British Channel, and from the mouth of the Elbe to Languedoc and Toulouse. But it did not satisfy their ambition, which next turned towards Burgundy. Clotilda, the widow of Clovis, whom superstition has canonised, remembered the massacre of her parents and brothers, and the dangers of her own infancy, and she instigated her sons to vengeance. Sigismund, the son of her uncle Gundebald, now occupied the throne of Burgundy. He too is honoured as a saint, though soon after his accession he had murdered his own son at the instigation of a second wife. Through the exhortations of the holy widow, her three sons, Childebert, Clothaire, and Clodomir (Thierry, who was not *her* son, refused to have any part in the war), invaded the province, and defeated Sigismund. Clodomir took him captive, and threw him, with his wife and children, into a well. Godemar, brother of Sigismund, collected another army, defeated the Franks,

and, having gained possession of Clodomir,—such is God's retributive justice!—beheaded him. After the death of Clodomir, Clothaire, the second brother, who had two wives already, married the widow, and became the *protector* of his two infant sons. Resolved to keep their inheritance, Childebert and Clothaire sent to Clotilda, their grandmother, a sword and a pair of scissors, wishing to know whether she preferred their death or their seclusion in the cloister. In the passion of the moment, she declared that she would rather see them dead than deprived of their rightful inheritance; and her words sealed their fate. Clothaire seized the elder, not ten years of age, and plunged a knife into his heart: the younger, who was not seven, terrified at the sight, knelt before Childebert, and pathetically prayed for life. Childebert was suddenly sensible of pity; and, with tears in his eyes, he begged that the child's life might be spared. “It was thyself that urged me to this!” replied the fiendish Clothaire: “give me the child, or die in his stead!” The survivor was immediately murdered: their nurses, pages, and servants shared the same fate, and the kingdom of Clodomir was divided between the two royal assassins. With an increased army, they again invaded Burgundy, which they conquered and divided between them, as they had before divided that of their brother Clodomir. On the death of Thierry, in 534, he was succeeded by his son Theudebert, who inherited his martial character, and was consequently too formidable to be served like the sons of Clodomir. He headed several expeditions into Italy and Spain, which, however, were not distinguished by much success; nor was his son and successor Theudebald (547—553) more fortunate. On the death of the latter, Clothaire, his uncle, married his widow and seized his kingdom, without dividing it with Childebert: the whole kingdom of the Franks was consequently in the hands of the two sons of Clovis. In revenge, Childebert excited a civil war; but, dying before its conclusion (558), his kingdom was forcibly seized by

Clothaire, now sole monarch of the Franks; who exiled his wife and daughters. A year before his death, Clothaire condemned to the fire his eldest son, who had rebelled against him, and that prince's wife and daughters, with as much coolness as he could have ordered the execution of the most guilty stranger. In fact, in the wide catalogue of human vices, there is scarcely one which was not practised by the abominable princes of this dynasty, whose memory will be held in everlasting execration.*

561 To follow in detail the actions, in other words, the
 to crimes, of this detestable dynasty, would neither suit
 750. our limits nor gratify the reader: we must rapidly
 glance at the chief revolutions of the Frank empire.
 Like his father, Clothaire I. at his death left four sons,
 and all four divided his states among them. This di-
 vision was effected by lot. *Austrasia*, or eastern France,
 comprehending the provinces on both sides of the
 Rhine, and extending from Bar-sur-Aube into Bo-
 hemia, fell to Siegerbert, who removed his capital from
 Rheims to Metz. *Neustria*, or western France, which
 extended from Bar to the Channel, and even to the con-
 fines of Aquitaine, fell to Chilperic, whose court was at
 Soissons. Gontram, who had *Burgundy*, established
 himself at Châlons-sur-Saône; and Charibert, from
 Paris, his capital, ruled over *Aquitaine* and a narrow
 slip of the intermediate country. But Charibert soon
 died, leaving his states to be divided among his three
 brothers. The reader's mind is no doubt prepared for
 the same dissensions among the sons of Clothaire as
 among those of Clovis: he might peruse far more
 horrors, if either our limits or inclination disposed,

* Victor Tunonensis, Chronicon, p. 321—334. & Gregorius Turonensis, Historia Francorum, lib. ii. iii. et iv. (in multis capitulis). Fredegarium, Epitomata, cap. 22—54. Anonymus, Gesta Regum Francorum, cap. 16—28. Cassiodorus, Epistola, lib. i. ii. et iii. (varis epist.). Ado Viennensis Chronicum, p. 665—668. Idatius, Chronicum, p. 365, &c. Marius Aventi-
 censis, Chronicum, p. 210—214. Hincmarus, Vita Sancti Remigii, passim. Rorico Monachus, Gesta Francorum, p. 814. Regino Monachus, Chro-
 nicon, p. 15. Anonymus, Historia de Landgraviis Thuringiæ, cap. 5. p. 1299. Aimonus Floriacensis, Historia Francorum, lib. i. et ii. Her-
 mannus Contractus, Chronicum, p. 162—180. Mannert, Geschichte der
 Deutschen, and Sismondi, Histoire des Français (sub annis).

us to withdraw the veil which covered them : we will raise one corner. Sigebert and Chilperic were unusually hostile to each other, not so much through ambition, as through the enmity of their wives, the famous Brunehild and Fredegund : the former was daughter of Athanagild, Wisigothic king of Spain ; the latter a low Frenchwoman, who, seeing herself rejected by Chilperic for Galswintha, a sister of Brunehild, swore revenge not only against her rival, but Sigebert and Brunehild. Soon renewing her empire over the heart of Chilperic, Fredegund procured the murder of Galswintha, and her own elevation as queen. She then incited her husband to a long war with Sigebert ; but, as it was not so successful as she wished,—as Sigebert was near dethroning herself and her husband,—she avoided that by the dagger : in 575, the victor fell by one of her hired assassins. The victim was succeeded in the kingdom of Austrasia by his son Childebert II. ; but, as the prince was too young to govern, the administration devolved on a new functionary,—the mayor of the palace, a grand judge and general of the kingdom. Brunehild was taken captive ; and her fate would soon have been decided, had not Merowig, the son of Chilperic, but not of Fredegund, fallen in love with her, and married her. The newly married couple took sanctuary in the church of St. Martin at Tours, and were protected by the historian and bishop St. Gregory. Chilperic, however, separated them : he restored Brunehild to the Austrasians, who were arming in the cause of their monarch's mother ; but Merowig soon fell a victim to the persecutions of Fredegund. Clovis, another son of her husband by a former queen, Fredegund — no doubt with Chilperic's consent — caused to perish by the dagger ; so that now her own children only remained to inherit the kingdom of Neustria. But on the assassination of her husband, in 584, though she proclaimed her son Clothaire II., the army, detesting both her and her offspring, hailed Gundowald, a bastard of the deceased monarch, as their chief. Gundowald, how-

ever, who could not support his elevation, perished violently; and his firmest support, St. Prætextatus, bishop of Rouen, fell under the sword of an assassin hired by Fredegund. In 598, Gontram, who was childless, paid the debt of nature, and Childebert of Austrasia seized Burgundy, to the prejudice of Clothaire II., the reputed heir. On the death of Childebert, probably by poison, Austrasia fell to his eldest son Theudebert, aged only ten years; and Burgundy to his second, Thierry II., aged only nine. As Clothaire II., king of Neustria, was only eleven, the monarchy of the Franks was subject to three minors, or rather to the three mayors of the palace who governed in their name. In 612, Thierry II., with the aid of Clothaire, vanquished his brother Theudebert of Austrasia, whom he calmly put to death: the following year he suddenly died; his sons fell into the power of Clothaire, who was not likely to show much mercy to the offspring of his mother Fredegund's enemy: two of the sons he murdered; a third, whom he had held over the baptismal font, he consented to save; and Brunehild, their grandmother, who at the same time became his captive, he caused to expire in the most cruel torments. By these bloody executions he was, in 613, at the head of the whole Frank empire in Germany and Gaul. Some years before his death, he caused Dagobert his elder son to be crowned king of Austrasia; and after that event (628), Aquitaine fell to his second, Charibert; but in three years Charibert died, his infant son was murdered by Dagobert, and unity once more restored to the monarchy. But Dagobert, like all the princes of his name during the last century and a half of its existence, was as feeble in body as he was cruel in heart; like them, through his early vices he was overtaken by old age in the prime of life. On his death in 638, his states were divided between his two infant sons. Austrasia fell to Sigebert III.; Neustria and Burgundy to Clovis II. The former was governed by the mayor, Pepin, subsequently by Grimoald, the son of Pepin; the latter by Erchinwald.

Both princes died about the usual age, from twenty to twenty-five. Sigebert left his crown to his son Dagobert II., but the mayor Grimoald, disdaining to acknowledge a puppet, caused the young prince to be tonsured, and sent to a monastery in Ireland: he next forged a will by which he pretended that his own son had been nominated by Sigebert to succeed. The nobles of Austrasia, however, seized Grimoald and his son, and sent them to Paris, where they were put to death. The three infant sons of Clovis II. were acknowledged,—Clothaire III. in Neustria, Childeric II. in Austrasia, and Thierry III. in Burgundy; and on the death of Clothaire, in 670, Thierry was recognised as the sovereign of Neustria no less than of Burgundy. Of course, the undivided power was in the hands of the mayor Ebroin, and he exercised it, we may infer, to the great discontent of the nobles, who could neither forgive him his elevation, nor his attempts to repress their turbulence. A revolution, headed by St. Leger, bishop of Autun, precipitated both him and his royal puppet into the cloister, and Childeric II. was hailed as the sole sovereign of the Franks. He also offended the great; and was assassinated while hunting in the forest of Sivry, near Paris: his pregnant widow and a son were massacred, and buried with him. Thierry III. was brought from the cloister to the throne, and placed under a mayor; while Dagobert II. was recalled from Ireland to the throne of Austrasia. Ebroin, too, escaped from the cloister, and with an Austrasian army invaded Neustria, seized Thierry, and was restored to the former post of mayor. Henceforth, Ebroin was still more incensed against the great, whose privileges he again laboured to limit. Some of them fled into Austrasia, to implore the aid of Pepin, grandson of the mayor of that name, who had succeeded to the same high office. A war followed, in which he was victorious; but in the height of his triumph he was assassinated by one of his own creatures. As Dagobert II. was also assassinated during these troubles, Pepin,

as mayor of Neustria, became the sole master of the Franks. The death of Thierry, in 691, offered no interruption to his authority ; under Clovis II. and Childebert III., sons of Thierry, who were successively called to the throne, he exercised the same functions. At this time, indeed, all the high offices of the Frank monarchy had become hereditary ; the dukes of Swabia, Thuringia, and Franconia had long been acknowledged so : the same concession was wrung from the crown by those of Austrasia, Provence, and Aquitaine ; and the example was imitated not only by the local counts, but by all those to whom a jurisdiction for life, or during the royal pleasure, had been granted. As Pepin recognised this new order of things in regard to *their* pretensions, they could do no other than acknowledge *his* : hence from this period must be dated the greatness of his family and the decline of the Merovingians. From this period, too, their princes are seldom mentioned in history ; the whole race had sunk into helpless imbecility, into hopeless profligacy ; they died of old age before arriving at manhood, they were occupied solely in beastly pleasures, being permitted to do what they pleased, so that they made no effort—which none of them wished to make—to interfere in state affairs. In fact, they were regarded as useless phantoms, as children under the care of tutors, whose accession or death no one was concerned to know. That Pepin did not openly seize the crown, and by so doing at once put an end to the farce of Merovingian royalty, may surprise us. He seems, however, to have been satisfied with the power, and to have disregarded the title, of king. His victories over Radbod duke of the Frisons, and over the duke of Swabia, who endeavoured to shake off the yoke of France — for such the country may hereafter be called,—must have rendered him dear to the people. On his death at Cologne, where he had removed the seat of government, he left his office, not to Charles, his only surviving son, but to Theodwald, an infant, and the bastard of his eldest deceased son,

Grimoald. At this period the nominal king was Dagobert III., who in 711 had succeeded to Childebert III. If Austrasia was satisfied with the last dispositions of its duke, the case was different in regard to Neustria, which, as consisting chiefly of Gauls, had never loved the Germanic sway, and which resolved not to acknowledge the infant Theodoald. It flew to arms ; the nobles of Austrasia were defeated ; but Charles, who had remained in prison since his father's death, and whom they now placed at their head, soon changed the fortune of the war. In 719, this valiant leader, whose prowess procured him the epithet of *Martel*, or the Hammer, had forced Neustria to acknowledge him as mayor to Chilperic II. With equal success did he triumph over the Frisons, the Saxons, the Bavarians, and the Swabians, who, under their hereditary dukes, mutually aimed at independence. But for more than all his warlike deeds is he renowned for his glorious victory over the Mohammedans, on the plains of Poitiers, in 732. The misbelievers had rendered themselves masters of all southern France ; they had annihilated the troops of Eudes duke of Aquitaine ; they were pressing forward in the flush of victory, and they would assuredly have planted the crescent in Central Europe, had not the hero of the Franks humbled their pride for ever. He had saved France, perhaps Europe ; and by Europe no less than by France was his claim to the sovereignty recognised. His future intentions were sufficiently apparent, when, on the death of Thierri IV. in 739, he nominated none of the long-haired family to the vacant dignity. He commenced that intercourse with the popes, which ended in the establishment of his son on the throne. The successors of St. Peter had need of his assistance against the encroachments of the Lombards ; and on one occasion, at least, his threats arrested the hostile march of Liutprand. On his death, in 741, he bequeathed the empire to his three sons, with a disposition as absolute as if the royal dignity had been for ages in his family. To Carloman, his

eldest son, he left Austrasia, Swabia, and Thuringia; to Pepin, Neustria, Burgundy, and Provence; while to Grifo, a bastard son, several lordships by way of fief were assigned. It is worthy of remark that neither Aquitaine nor Bavaria is mentioned in this testament,—doubtless, because neither recognised the sovereign authority of the mayors. The two princes continued to tread with glory in the steps of their father. They reduced Aquitaine; they humbled the Swabians, who had revolted; they overthrew Odilo duke of Bavaria; and they triumphed over the combined Frisons and Saxons. In 785, Carloman resigned his dignity, leaving the guardianship of his children to Pepin: he retired first to Rome, next to the monastery of Monte Casino, where he professed, and where he ended his days in sentiments suited to his state. This extraordinary step has been ascribed by some historians to remorse; by others, to a terrified conscience; by many, to mental weakness: it is, however, certain that his life was singularly free from crime, and that his judgment was sound. He bade adieu to the world in the height of human prosperity, when his power of enjoyment was most vigorous; and we may believe the monk of Moissiac, nearly a contemporary, who ascribes the step to religious fervour, rather than modern philosophic historians, who regard zeal and fanaticism as inseparable, who confound self-abnegation with weakness of intellect, and who condemn every thing not referable to their own standard of utility. By the *Christian* philosopher, Carloman will be revered not only for his elevation above the littleness of ambition, but for the wisdom which made him prefer the concerns of the future to those of the present state.*

* S. Gregorius Turonensis, *Historia Francorum*, lib. iv.—x. (in multis capitulis). Joannes Biatoriensis, *Chronicon*, p. 337—341. Fredegarius, *Chronicon*, p. 740, &c. Anonymus, *Gesta Domini Dagoberti*, p. 572—587. Anonymus, *Vita Sancti Leodegarii*, p. 600, &c. Anonymus, *Vita Beati Pippini*, p. 594—599. Eginhardus, *Annales Regum Francorum*, a. d. 741—745. Frodoardus, *Historia Ecclesiae Remigienensis*, lib. i. cap. 13—26. et lib. ii. cap. 1—14. (it is impossible to particularise the *pages*). Anonymus, *Vita Sancti Lamberti*, p. 143. Anonymus, *Historia de Landgraviis Thuringiæ*, p. 1300. Hermannus Contractus, *Chronicon*, p. 182—214.

That the government of the Merovingian tribes was hereditary, is apparent from the succession of the princes. Sometimes, indeed, the states were convoked by the father to procure the recognition of the son ; but this was a mere formality, for the long-haired princes were regarded as the only heirs of the crown. That their authority was absolute, may be confidently inferred from their acts. They appear to have had no check, — none, at least, which they regarded, — to have followed in all things the impulses of their own wills ; and as they were continually surrounded by a formidable body of troops, they had little fear of opposition. Had any such check existed, it must surely have been applied, when they committed crimes never witnessed before or since in any country, Christian or heathen. With them murder was an ordinary diversion ; adultery was constant ; incest was almost as frequent ; and as for robbery, ravage, and desolation, they never ceased, from the accession of Clovis to that of Pepin. Their every-day acts were of the most arbitrary character ; they consigned to the prison, to the torture, the flames, or the block, any individual, or any number of individuals, not only without the formality of a trial, but often without so much as an accusation. In such dread were they held, that even the church feared to remonstrate. Chilperic, the husband of Fredegund, was called the Nero of France ; his murders were on a scale truly royal ; yet no one thought of restraining his excesses. This power of the crown among the Franks, while it was so limited among other Germanic people, is the more surprising ; nor does this sentiment cease when we read that originally they were the most democratic of their race ; that their kings were but *primi inter pares*. The first and most obvious cause of this change must be sought in the privilege conferred on Clovis, of distributing the conquered lands to whomsoever of his followers he pleased.

Aimonus Floriacensis, *Historia Francorum*, lib. iii. et iv. (in multis capitulis). Pfeffel, *Histoire des Allemands*, tom. i. troisième période. Regino Monachus, *Chronicon*, lib. i. p. 16—24. Sismondi, *Histoire des Français*, tom. i. et ii.

As those followers would always be in expectation of new or augmented grants, and with them of jurisdiction,—for a species of jurisdiction, similar in kind, though different in degree, doubtless existed prior to what we call the feudal times,—they would not be likely to incur the ill-will of their sovereign. The ancient plaids or assemblies of the nation were certainly designed, and no doubt they were originally sufficient, to repress the despotic tendency of the crown. But this could only be in the native country of the Franks, where every warrior had a right to attend these assemblies, where new laws were made by themselves, where grievances were redressed, and where the authority of all was equal. There, as their whole force,—the whole of their population,—was circumscribed within narrow bounds, all would attend, if not to deliberate, at least to decide, on the common interests, especially on the conduct of their military chiefs and judges. But when by their conquests they were dispersed over a wide extent of territory, the simple warriors—those who could not aspire to the higher functions—were in no disposition to undertake twice a year a long and dangerous journey to their plaids. The powerful and the ambitious would attend; but, for the reason we have mentioned, they would be the least willing to oppose the royal will. The dukes, who held a jurisdiction over a province; the counts, who commanded under them; the bishops and abbots, who had so much to hope from princely favour, without which they could not even be appointed, never failed to be present; and they were accompanied by the inferior functionaries, who could not deliberate, but who could execute the decrees of the assembly. It is evident that none of these could oppose a sufficient check to the royal authority; that they would be more anxious to secure personal objects than the rights of the lower classes of society. The duke was but the simple governor of the province, removable at the will of the crown; the count depended on the duke, but could not be removed without the authority of the king. And

even in the exercise of their judicial functions, both duke and count were liable to the control of the *missi dominici*, or royal judges, who administered an ambulatory justice like our judges of assize, and who could revoke any cause before their own tribunals. Another great cause of the royal power may be found in the gradual approximation of the Frank to the Roman jurisprudence. The conquerors found that, if their code of laws had been sufficient for their governance in their native state, it was ill adapted to the present : that new habits and complex relations must be decided by other provisions ; nor could they look for such provisions any where but first to the Theodosian, next to the Justinian code, which were in vigour throughout Gaul. They could not adopt the new laws without also adopting their pervading spirit—that of despotism. In fact, the power of the crown, a century after the invasion of the barbarians, was virtually irresponsible. “If we commit injustice,” says the sainted bishop of Tours to Chilperic, “ thou canst punish us ; but if thou art unjust, who shall call thee to account ? We may, indeed, remonstrate, and, if it be thy good pleasure, thou canst listen to us ; but if thou reject what we say, God only has the right to judge thee !”* Language more slavish could not have been used in the worst period of the middle ages : it proves that the monstrous doctrine of passive obedience was not confined to the subjects of the Roman empire, nor to those of Pedro of Castile, nor to those of our Henry VIII. What else, indeed, could be expected, where bishop and deacon, noble and peasant, duke and soldier, even judge and citizen, were unanimous in acknowledging the absolute power of the crown ? If a mandate were issued, there were ready the *missi dominici*, the counts, and inferior magistrates, to execute it. But the king seldom recurred even to the forms of the tribunals ; his *leuds*, or armed attendants

* “ Si quis de nobis, o rex, justitiae tramitem transcendere voluerit, à te corrigi potest ; si vero tu excesseris, quis te corripiet ? Loquimur enim tibi, sed si volueris, audis : si autem volueris, quis te condemnabit, nisi is qui se pronuntiavit esse justitiam ? ”—S. Greg. Turon. lib. v. cap. 19.

(such were all proprietors of lands, and even all who expected to become such *), were constantly at his command ; they held those lands from him under the title of *beneficia*, which were as much obligations to future as rewards for past services ; which were often revocable at will—never conferred for a longer period than life. The habits of dissipation which the nobles acquired after the monarchy had abandoned simplicity for splendour, made even the rich anxious to increase their revenues. That benefices were long revocable appears from the advice which Gontram, king of Burgundy, gave to his nephew Childebert II., whom he exhorts to dispossess such nobles as were not likely to forward his views. But in human society nothing is stable : the very causes which led to the despotism of the crown, led also to its limitation. The nobles had been enriched by the royal justice ; what they held they began to regard rather as a reward for past than as an obligation to future services ; and they consequently resisted the revocation of their *beneficia*. At first they insisted on holding their lands, their jurisdiction, offices, and privileges, for life : and as this was a question which interested every member of the body, we need not wonder that their unanimity procured from the throne the sanction —however unwilling sanction —of their claim. At Andely, where peace, towards the close of the sixth century, was made between Gontram and Childebert of Austrasia, that claim was formally recognised. But they were not long satisfied with the concession. It is certain that, in the reign of Charles Martel, they regarded their fiefs as *transmissible to their heirs* ; and that this celebrated hero, who had a still greater interest in the question, sanctioned this

* That the *leudes* were the faithful followers of the prince, and included not only those who already possessed, but those who *expected*, *beneficia*, is evident from the Wisigothic (lib. iv. tit. 5. l. 5.) and from the Lombard code (lib. ii. tit. 22. l. i.). They were nobles, whether proprietors of land, or stipendiary, and, consequently, at the pleasure of the prince. Vide Du-cange, *ad vocem*. Mably (*Observations sur l'Histoire de France*, tom. i. p. 314.) is certainly wrong in restricting the leuds to the armed attendants of the court : they comprised the great bulk of the armed population who enjoyed or expected the king's bounty.

heritability alike of lands, dignities, and offices. From the hints, however incidental and obscure, of the contemporary chroniclers, we may gather that the movability and the permanence of fiefs had been a sore subject of dispute between the nobles and the crown before the time of Charles. When we read that they supported or opposed a king, according as he observed their privileges ; that if one forfeited his pledge, they elevated some more compliant prince as a rival to him ; that the citizens, the smaller proprietors, and the peasantry, who were always hostile to the hereditary system, supported one candidate, while the nobles had another ; we are justified in concluding that this long-continued struggle between king and nobles regarded the heritability of fiefs. The crown could not behold with much complacence this daring innovation. As the nobles grew more independent of the king ; as they strengthened themselves by alliances, and by the number of their armed followers ; they became indifferent to his favour, and bold enough to oppose him whenever their interest required it. As captains of the armed force within their respective estates or jurisdiction, and ready at any moment to draw the sword at the summons of their dukes and counts, they were, *united*, sure to crush him. Hence his power rapidly declined. He could, indeed, in virtue of ample endowments, confer to benefices in the church ; but he could no longer nominate to the high offices of the state, or to local governments : he could no longer enforce any decree which was not approved by the dukes or counts, and which was not in accordance with the laws. The imbecility of the Merovingian princes during a full century and a half was no less fatal to the royal prerogatives : it rendered the office of mayor one of necessity, for the discharge of the military no less than the judicial duties of the executive. It must not, however, be forgotten, that, if these prerogatives were thus limited, that limitation was the creature of force, and that the same force could expand it. Even when their despotism

bent before the ascendancy of the nobles, the kings would sometimes play freaks as cruel as they were wanton. They had still ample domains ; consequently they could still enrich their immediate creatures, their armed attendants ; but this does not so much prove their power as the empire of brute force : the same excesses might be, and in reality were, committed by the landed nobles and by the dignitaries of the state.*

490 If from the government we proceed to the society to of the Gauls under the domination of the Merovingians
 752. we shall find changes no less striking. When the barbarians first entered the country, no two people could be more dissimilar than the victors and the vanquished. The former were idolaters ; the latter distinguished for Christian zeal : the former rejoiced in the consciousness of individual independence ; the latter had been so long habituated to slavery, that they could form no notion of any other state : those regarded a nation in its elements, as consisting of individuals who were singly necessary to the state ; these could behold no society where there was not a regular gradation of municipal duties — where the social body was not obedient to the impulse of one common mover — where individual will was not merged in the action of the whole mass. Hence the laws of the one party were few in number, and framed rather for individual protection than for the common good ; while those of the latter were interminable and complex, formed for the security or well-being of the whole, and, whenever that well-being was concerned, not hesitating to sacrifice the good of a part. That some time must elapse before elements so discordant could amalgamate, was perceived. First, natives were allowed to be judged by their own (the Roman) laws (in fact, it may be doubted whether, in any European country which had been a province of the empire, these laws were

* Mably, *Observations sur l'Histoire de France*, tom. i. liv. ii. S. Grgorius Turonensis, *Historia Francorum*, liv. v. cap. 19., liv. vi. cap. 46., liv. vii. cap. 33. Guizot, *Histoire de la Civilisation en France*, tom. i. huitième leçon. The preceding paragraph, however, is little indebted to any of these writers.

prohibited) : but Gauls, no less than Franks, were subject to the future decrees passed in the *placita regni*, in the *Campus Martii*, so called because the nation was assembled in the open air in that month.* This policy would gradually weaken the line of demarcation between the two people : the conversion of the Franks did much more ; it taught them to regard the natives, however degraded, as born to the same high destiny as themselves ; and it inculcated brotherly affection. Yet this revolution of sentiment must have been slow ; that an odious distinction was drawn between them is evident from a provision of the Salic law, which makes the life of a Frank twice the value of a native. Burgundy, however, set the just example of visiting the murderers of both with the same pecuniary compensation ; and it was eventually followed by the successors of Clovis. Other causes tended to remove the injustice.—1. The society of the Franks, after their settlement in Gaul, was disorganised : because the same tribes, being located in different parts of the country, gradually lost their ancient spirit of union, their attachment to one another, and to the heroes who had led them to victory. Hence they became what before they had never been,—cultivators of the ground, and, consequently, anxious for domestic tranquillity. The slaves, who performed the toilsome labour of agriculture on their domains, they soon learned to regard with less contempt : their world lay in their own immediate vicinity ; and so far were they from wishing to attend the general assemblies of their nation, that penalties were devised to compel them. To protect their property they had need of armed men ; and they did not hesitate to put arms into the hands of their Gaulish dependants. If their domains were, as was often the case, ample, they located these dependants, both Gauls and the poorer Franks, at different points, both that the lands might be better cultivated, and that, in time of

* Another assembly was also convoked in autumn ; but this second meeting was of less importance.

need, they might have a devoted band of warriors at their command. Here we may discover the origin of the feudal system. These beneficiaries became proprietors, and their tenants serfs : they were the only great persons within their respective districts ; and, in the absence of the *missi dominici*, whose functions were chiefly confined to the great towns, they alone could settle the quarrels or punish the misdemeanors of their people. As their houses increased in importance ; as villages, and even towns, arose near them ; they were not only the recognised military captains, but they exacted from the crown the same species of jurisdiction as was exercised by the counts. When once at the head of the military and judicial functions, their career in the path of feudalism was rapid. They insisted that their fiefs should cease to be revocable ; that they should descend to their children, together with the accompanying jurisdiction. They claimed, too, the right of deciding a quarrel with any hostile neighbour by the sword, without appealing to the king, whom they were no longer disposed to obey ; or to the *placita regni*, which, in reality, were fallen into disuse. It is singular enough that the bishops, in virtue of the domains attached to their sees, obtained the same power : they could hold their tribunals in cases even of life and death ; and to these tribunals both the clergy and laity of their metropolis were subject. The system, however, was not perfected under the Merovingian kings : it was not until the time of the Carlovingians that the bishops were fully recognised as temporal barons ; that they were obliged, like the lay feudatories, to accompany their vassals to the field. Nor was it until after the fall of that dynasty that benefices, in the strict meaning of the word, were converted into patrimonial fiefs, the free labourers into villains or serfs. But that the origin of the system may be satisfactorily traced from the commencement of the seventh century, is so evident from the whole tenor of the old French historians, that we should feel surprised if any one were so rash as to con-

tradict it ; were it not also the fact, that there is scarcely a single historical point, however established by authority, which has not been disputed by modern writers. Let them read, the laws of the Salian Franks, of the Ripuarii, of the Burgundians, Lombards, and even the Wisigoths, and they will find that tenure and military service were far from unknown. The system was of slow growth ; it did not spring at once from the Germanic institutions, as Minerva sprang from the brain of Jove. — 2. The Gauls themselves were suffered to bear arms in the service of their Frank superiors : many even of the peasants were enfranchised for this purpose.— 3. The priesthood, not excepting the highest dignities, were of Gaul or Roman, not of Germanic, origin ; and as their characters were sacred, their influence powerful, they served as a counterpoise to that of the conquerors.— 4. The municipal authorities,—the government of all the towns and cities which already existed when the Franks entered Gaul,—were suffered to remain in native hands ; and even the military forces of these places were sometimes subject to the bishop, — though oftener, doubtless, to the counts. By slow but sure degrees the natives were also admitted to municipal posts in the towns subsequently founded ; they swelled the ranks of the army ; they were the economic and domestic servants of the Franks ; while many, in number probably greatly exceeding that of the dominant class, retained a portion at least of their original estates. Hence the influence of the conquerors was salutarily counterbalanced, until little distinction, other than that of great feudal captains, separated them from the rest. If to these facts we add that the Franks had scarcely any imposts, — the few they had being destined to the support of the municipal system ; that the troops were maintained on the domains either of the crown or of the military barons ; that the court was supported by their hereditary possessions ; we shall find that the domination of the conquerors was a relief to the people. Under the Roman sway, the latter had been ground to

the earth by a complicated and rapacious system of taxation. Attempts were, indeed, made by some officious ministers to restore it; but they were soon the victims of popular indignation, and the obnoxious measures were abandoned. The chief drawback on this superior state of things was the insecurity of government, the civil wars occasioned by the guilty ambition of the worst princes the world has ever seen, and the consequent oppression of the peaceable subjects; but it may yet be doubted whether these evils did not exist in a still greater degree during the three last centuries of the imperial domination.*

752 On the retirement of Carloman, Pepin, resolved to have no competitors for the monarchy he was about to establish, forced his nephews into the cloister. Nor did he long hesitate to apply for the papal permission to remove the helpless Childeric II. from a slumbering royalty to the monastic cell. Zacharias was too much flattered by this implied power of the Holy See, and too anxious for aid against the Lombards, then menacing the eternal city, to refuse; Childeric was shorn, and Pepin hailed as king of the Franks. This revolution was effected amidst the acclamations of the people; nobody thought of the Merovingians, whose imbecility had procured them the hearty contempt of the world. Soon after his *unction*, — a restoration of the old Jewish rite, — he had the honour of a visit from Stephen II., successor of Zacharias, who regarded him as the protector of the church, and who threatened excommunication to the people if they should ever acknowledge any sovereign not belonging to the race of Pepin. The grateful king saved Rome, and even forced the Lombards to restore the conquests they had made. Nor was his reign inferior in glory to that of his father. He humbled the Saxons: he united to France, first Septimania, which the Arabs had held; next Aquitaine, which had

* Guizot, *Histoire de la Civilisation Française*, tom. i. Mably, *Observations sur l'Histoire de France*, tom. i. liv. i. chap. 3. et 4. Sismondi, *Histoire des Français*, tom. i. p. 20.

been declared independent by its dukes. On his death, in 768, he left the sovereignty to his two sons, Charles and Carloman : the one had western France, from Frisia to the Pyrenees ; the other the eastern provinces, comprehending those of Germany, part of Austrasia, Alsace, Switzerland, Burgundy, and Provence. Had Carloman lived, there would, doubtless, have been a civil war between the brothers ; his death, at the close of 771, enabled Charles to seize his dominions without any regard to the rights of his children.*

The deeds of Charlemagne, whose character has not been fully drawn by any writer, native or foreign, would, to do them justice,—to explain minutely their effect on European society,—require more volumes than can be devoted to the whole of this compendium. Omitting his expedition into Spain †, his subversion of the Lombard kingdom ‡, and his reduction of the revolted inhabitants of Aquitaine, we will relate, in a few words, his long wars in Germany. The Saxons had been so little injured by the victories of Pepin the elder and Charles Martel, that they now occupied a country ten times its original extent ; on the south they were bounded by the French empire, on the north by Denmark ; on the west they had Frisia, and eastward they extended far into modern Prussia, Hanover, and Saxony. They were still split into tribes, each subject to its king. They held an annual diet on the banks of the Weser, where their general affairs were discussed. To reclaim them from idolatry, St. Libanus appeared before them in the diet of 773; exhorted them to embrace Christianity ; and threatened that, if they did not, they would be exterminated by the great king of the west, who was already coming. He was saved from death by one of the oldest pagans, who observed, that if he were, as he appeared, the ambassador of some hostile

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* Eginhardus, *Annales Regum Francorum*, A. D. 741—768. Idem, *Vita Caroli Magni*, cap. I—18. Anonymus Monachus (S. Galli), *de Gestis Caroli Magni*, lib. i. et ii. (variis locis). Anonymus, *Annales de Gestis Caroli Magni*, lib. i.

† See History of Spain and Portugal, vol. i. book i. chap. iii.

‡ See Vol. I. p. 8. of the present work.

deity, far wiser would it be to treat him well than to exasperate that deity by his murder. To show their contempt, however, of the Christian's God, they destroyed the newly erected church of Deventer, and massacred those who had taken refuge in it. This wanton outrage so incensed the Franks, then assembled in diet at Worms, that they invaded the country, which they laid waste with fire and sword, and destroyed the famous idol Hermansul. Warlike as was their character, they were not likely to resist in the open field the formidable power of Charles ; they were forced to submit, and to give hostages for their future fidelity ; but he was scarcely returned, when they recommenced their ravages on the frontier. In 775, he had to recommence the work of subjection. He was, above all, incensed that, during his recent war with the last Lombard king, they had wasted Hesse, without any attempt being made by his feudatories, the dukes of Bavaria and Swabia, to arrest the tide of invasion. A single campaign reduced three of the four great confederations, — the Eastphalians, Westphalians, Anszarians, and Nordalbingians, — into which the nation was divided. It was, doubtless, to be nearer these restless enemies, that Charlemagne fixed his court near the Rhine, — at the castle of Schelestadt in Alsace. From his Spanish expedition in 778 he was recalled by the same cause as from that of Lombardy. Under Witikind, the bravest of the chiefs, the Saxons ravaged the eastern banks of the Rhine, from Cologne to its confluence with the Meuse. In this ferocious warfare they spared not high or low, age or sex ; and their rage was, above all, turned against the churches, the monasteries, and persons consecrated to God. The horrors which they committed are described in glowing, doubtless in true colours, by ancient chroniclers. This time the conqueror forced them to embrace Christianity, and to receive not only missionaries, but abbots and bishops, each with a district. In this campaign he extended his frontiers eastward, so as to confine on the Slavonians of Bohemia,

Lusatia, and Brandenburg. From the appearance of Tassilo, duke of Bavaria, at the diet of Worms in 781, to renew his oaths of fidelity, there is reason to suspect that he had favoured the late revolts of the Saxons. His subsequent conduct confirms it. Whether he had any share in the hostilities of Witikind during the following year, is not clear; but when Charles cruelly beheaded 4500 Saxons at Verdun in revenge for these hostilities, he probably blew the embers of strife throughout Saxony. He was too cautious, however, to take part in the revolt which followed, wherein the whole nation measured its arms with the king, was again vanquished, and severely punished. That he was implicated in the subsequent rebellion of the Thuringians, which was far more easily repressed, is not so probable; but his enmity was certainly suspected; and it was soon discovered that he was endeavouring to bring the Slavonians into the empire of the Franks. Before he had time to organise his means of resistance, he was forced to appear before the diet at Ingelheim (788), where, by his peers, he was clearly found guilty of the charges against him, and condemned to death; but Charles commuted the last penalty into religious seclusion for life. Accordingly, he, his consort, and his son retired to separate monasteries, where they ended their days. With him ended the sovereignty of the Agiolfingians, which had ruled two centuries over the distant and important province of Bavaria. But his retreat did not arrest the invasion of the Slavonians or Huns, who passed the Ens, the eastern boundary of the Frank empire, and ravaged Bavaria. They were, however, defeated by the Bavarians on the banks of the Danube; and Charles hastened to Ratisbon to divide the country into feudal lordships, according to the system which had been adopted in the rest of his empire. But he was not satisfied with protecting his frontier; he removed it from the Ens to the Raab, while his captains in the most northern parts carried it from the Elbe to the Oder. It must not, however, be supposed that the new

conquests were perfectly secure ; they were often a prey no less to their own inhabitants than to the Slavonians of Bohemia and Moravia, the Avars and the Huns of Pannonia. But he kept them in check towards the close of his reign, especially after his final triumphs over the Saxons, many thousands of whose families he transported at various times into Gaul and Italy, and by so doing effectually broke the force of their confederacy. Such of the Avars, too, as embraced Christianity, he placed between the Danube and the Save, with the view of protecting that weak part of his frontier against the warlike pagans. This European empire was now as extensive as that which Rome had ever possessed. On his accession, his Germanic territories could only be said to comprehend Thuringia, Franconia, and Swabia, — for Bavaria, though nominally subject to him, was virtually independent. By gradually extending his frontier to the mouth of the Oder, to Silesia and the Raab, — by thus reducing the whole of Germany except the Slavonic region of Bohemia ; by subjugating Lombardy and the duchy of Beneventum ; receiving the submission of the Roman duchy, and, in fact, of all Italy, except the maritime districts possessed by the Franks ; he more than counterbalanced the loss of Spain and England. That the lord of regions so extensive should aspire to the imperial dignity, was inevitable : he was already a king of kings ; for over Aquitaine, which he had erected into a kingdom, he had placed his son Louis, and over his Italian possessions his son Pepin. Though Eginhard tells us that when, in 800, during his presence at Rome, Leo III. placed the imperial crown on his head, he was surprised by the honour, there can be no doubt that he had long meditated the restoration of the western empire, and concerted the mode successively with Adrian and Leo. In 806, he made a new division of his vast states : to Charles, the eldest of his sons, he gave northern France, the Netherlands, and part of Germany ; to Pepin he confirmed Italy, with Bavaria, and his conquests

thence to Pannonia; to the kingdom of Aquitaine, held by Louis, he added Burgundy, Provence, and the Spanish march, which included Navarre and Catalonia. But this division was decided by fate; the two eldest of his sons preceded him to the tomb; so that, on his death in 814, the whole empire remained to Louis, except Italy, which was conferred as a royal fief on Bernard, the son of Pepin.*

Charlemagne, or Charles the Great, though not the wisest or the most learned, was, beyond doubt, the most splendid prince of the middle ages. Though his conquests alone have conferred immortality on his name, he was not without elevated qualities. His clemency was extraordinary; for if he was cruel with the Saxons, we must remember that he had received incessant provocations from them,—that they were uniformly apostate to the religion which they consented to embrace, and faithless to their engagements. This, indeed, is a poor apology for his severities; but it may show that they were not wholly unprovoked. In fact, his history, had we limits to detail it, proves, in regard to the worst criminals, that he generally commuted death into seclusion within the walls of a monastery. His love of letters will appear from the princely rewards which he bestowed on those who cultivated them; not on Franks only, or indeed chiefly, but on Italians, English, and Spaniards. Over the schools and the monasteries which he had founded or enlarged, he placed the best scholars of his age; and he was often present to reward the successful student. He is known to have reproved with some severity the ecclesiastics who, whether secular or monastic, expressed themselves with negligence: he thought ignorance bad in a layman; in a churchman, intolerable. He caused manuscripts to be greatly mul-

* Eginhardus, *Annales Regum Francorum*, A.D. 771—814. Idem, *Vita Caroli Magni*, cap. 18—30. Anonymus, *de Gestis Caroli Magni*, lib. ii. Hermannus Contractus, *Chronica*, p. 219—225. Regino Monachus, *Chronicon*, p. 40—59. Sigebertus Gemblacensis, *Chronographia*, p. 779—788. Leden, *Geschichte der Teutschen Volkes*, bde. v. passim. Pfeffel, *Histoire des Allemagnes*, tom. i. (sunt annis). Sismondi, *Histoire des Français*, tom. ii. partie 2. chap. 2, 3, 4, 5.

tiplied ; in fact, a good and laborious penman was sure to be rewarded by him. It is some gratification to find that his most intimate friend, and the most learned man of the age — one who gave an impulse to him and his people — was our countryman, Alcuin. Of his religious zeal, his numerous foundations, as well of bishoprics as of monasteries, bear witness. He was scrupulous, too, in the observance of the rites of the church ; he fasted and prayed with great sincerity : but though he was free from many vices, he was subject to one, — that of incontinence. He divorced his wives, or chose one mistress after another, with as little hesitation as the worst of his Merovingian predecessors. On the whole, however, though he had little claim to the honour of canonisation, he was one of the best princes of the middle ages. Comprehensive in his views, persevering in his designs, indefatigable in his duties, anxious for the welfare of his people, sincere in his character, just in his decisions, paternal in all his actions, his memory may well be dear to France : to him, religion, literature, and good government were more indebted, than to all the princes of that nation who preceded or followed him. His name was repeated with equal reverence by the Arab of the desert and the Norman pirate of the deep. The kings of his time, from the caliphs of Bagdad to the Anglo-Saxon reguli, and from the sovereigns of Cordova to those of Scandinavia, were eager to obtain his notice — to be honoured by his friendship or alliance. But we forbear to speak more of him until we arrive at a place where we can do so with more propriety.*

The sceptre of Charlemagne was no more to be wielded, than the bow of Ulysses was to be bent, by a meaner hand. He was singularly unfortunate in his successors. Louis, the next emperor, surnamed, from his manner, *Le Débonnaire* (814—840), might have ruled a church or a monastery, or even a small state, with some credit ; but his capacity was too bounded, and his character too weak, for a great empire. Feeling that

814
to
888.

* Founded on the same authorities.

he was unequal to the weight of government, in the third year of his reign he associated with him his eldest son, Lothaire, to whom, on the death of Bernard, he gave the kingdom of Italy; and to each of his younger sons, Louis and Pepin, he confided Bavaria and Aquitaine as royal fiefs. For this paternal policy they showed little gratitude. His marriage with a young princess, as it seemed likely to multiply his heirs, they regarded with jealousy; and soon after the birth of a fourth prince, Charles the Bald, for whom he erected Swabia, Switzerland, and the Grisons into a kingdom, under the name of Germany, they rebelled. His feeble government had dissatisfied many; the intimacy of his queen, Judith, with Bernard duke of Septimania disgusted more: there was already jealousy between the French—for so the Franks of Gaul begin to be called—and the Germans; so that we need not wonder that the undutiful princes could form a party. In 833 he was deposed; but in about a year his sons disagreed among themselves, and enabled him to regain the throne, which he held to his death. Just before that event, the death of Pepin enabled him to make a new division of his states. To Louis, who had again incurred his displeasure, he left Bavaria only; while to Lothaire and Charles the Bald he bequeathed the rest of the empire: the eastern part, comprising Germany, Italy, Provence, part of Burgundy, and Austrasia, with the imperial title, was held by the former. Louis, incensed at his small inheritance, took up arms; the people of Aquitaine, who were resolved to have a king, did the same in favour of Pepin II., the eldest son of their deceased sovereign. After a civil war, in which the four princes were split into two parties,—Lothaire being allied with Pepin, and Louis with Charles,—a new partition was made. All France west of the Meuse, the Saône, and the Rhone, with the Spanish march, fell to Charles the Bald; this may be called the new kingdom of France: Louis had the whole of Germany. The eastern parts of France, from the Rhine and the Scheldt to the Mediterranean,

with Switzerland and Italy, were assigned to Lothaire. During these civil contentions, the Normans laid waste the maritime coasts of France ; the Saracens often made destructive inroads from the south ; nor were the Slavi or the Danes idle on their respective frontiers. In 845, Charles, the feeblest of the brothers, had the mortification to see Paris pillaged and burnt : four years afterwards, he had the additional humiliation of being compelled to grant a fine fief on the banks of the Seine to Godfrid, a piratical chief ; while Lothaire was no less obliged to grant the lordship of Dorstadt, in Frisia, to Ruric, another Danish adventurer. Before his death (855), Lothaire, as if the French empire were not sufficiently weakened by partition, effected a subdivision, among his three sons, of the portion he had governed. To the eldest, Louis II., who bore the vain title of emperor, he left Italy ; to the second, Lothaire, the provinces between the Meuse and the Rhine, which from this time began to be called Lotharingia, or Lorraine ; the third, Charles, had Provence, or the region between the Rhone and the Alps. In the same spirit, Charles the Bald placed one of his sons over Aquitaine. It is impossible to say where this mania of partition might have ended, — whether, in time, every city with a few square leagues of territory might not have had its king, — had not death removed most of these ignoble princes from the power of mischief. In 863, the king of Provence died without issue, and his dominions were divided by his two brothers : six years afterwards, Lothaire paid the debt of nature, and his kingdom was shared between Louis the Germanic and Charles the Bald. Louis, indeed, like the rest, divided his German domains among his sons ; leaving Saxony and Thuringia to Louis of Saxe, Bavaria to Carloman, and Swabia to Charles the Fat ; but still the gradual tendency of the states was to accumulate in the hands of a few, — to produce unity in the executive power. In 884, owing to the decease of so many princes without male issue, Charles the Fat, who had some years borne the

imperial title, found himself in possession of all the states which Charlemagne had governed. Provence, indeed, or Arles, was under a separate sovereign, whom the people, with the view of resisting the Normans and Saracens, had elected ; but he was dependent on the imperial crown. But Charles the Fat was no less imbecile than the worst of the Merovingians. It was his first duty to rid France of the Norman pirates, who for years had wasted it with perfect impunity ; and whose forbearance, in some instances, the local governors had been glad to purchase by an exorbitant weight of gold. Soon after his accession, they appeared before Paris, which they besieged during a whole year ; and this is mentioned by contemporary chroniclers as a novel thing,—on former occasions, the French having every where retreated before them. Charles cared not for the fate of Paris ; but being forced to the field by the remonstrances of his indignant subjects, he reluctantly marched towards that city. Though at the head of a force greatly superior in number to the enemy, he had no taste for fighting ; he offered, and they accepted, a great sum of money as the condition of their removal from France. After this notable exploit, he hastily returned towards Alsace ; but in his retreat he was harassed by the Danish leader, Sigfrid, who had apparently disapproved the convention, and he fled ignominiously before the half-armed barbarians.* With one tenth their number, his great ancestor would have annihilated them ; with probably ten times their number — for they seldom exceeded three or four thousand — the emperor of the West fled to the Rhine in a manner not much unlike that of a more witty but equally cowardly warrior,

* Abbo, the contemporary monk of St. Omers, in his metrical account of this siege, mentions the arrival and retreat of Charles without one word of reprobation :—“ Now arrives the prince I sing, the emperor Charles, surrounded by warriors of all nations, all shining like the stars of heaven, and followed by a multitude of people speaking various tongues.”—“ His first care was to give a shepherd to the bereaved flock of Paris, the noble bishop Auscheric.”—“ And he is graciously pleased to enact that the barbarians may return to their savage empire, after receiving 700 pounds of silver.”—*Abbo Monachus, De Bellis Parisiacæ Urbis*, lib. ii.

whom the genius of Shakspeare has immortalised.* This humiliation was too much for the proud Germans, who, in 887, deposed their royal log, and elected in his place Arnulf duke of Carinthia, a natural shoot from the Carlovingian stock. There was, in fact, no legitimate scion remaining ; for Charles the Simple, then a child in Aquitaine, was the offspring of a connection which the church refused to sanction. Charles the Fat survived his deposition only a few months.†

From this period the histories of Germany and of France become distinct, and must be regarded separately. Before, however, we proceed with that of France, we must take our accustomed glance at the government and condition of the people under the Carlovingian sway.

752 We have before remarked how, owing to the comparative disuse of the great assemblies of the nation, and
to 888. other causes, the power of the Merovingian kings was absolute. But though these assemblies, under the reign of Charlemagne, were thirty-five in number, they do not appear to have materially circumscribed his authority. On their nature and proceedings we have some valuable details in Hincmar, who copies a treatise of Adalhard, abbot of Corbey, *De Ordine Palatii*. He tells us that the capitularies, or the famous constitutions of the Carlovingian kings, were proposed to the assembly by the sovereign ; in modern language, he had the initiative of the laws and decrees. Hence the assertion of the abbé de Mably, that the legislative power resided in the nation through its assembly, and not in the crown, falls to the ground. Not that the members were always debarred from proposing measures which they deemed necessary for the weal of the community ; but their so doing was manifestly an exception from the

* Falstaff.

† Eginhardus, *Annales Regum Francorum*, A.D. 814—889. "Astro-nomus, Vita et Actus Lodovici Pli, p. 286, &c. Nithardus, *De Dissensionibus Filiorum Ludovici Pli*, p. 359, &c. Ermoldus Nigellus, *De Rebus Ludovici Pli*, p. 823—955. Annales Bertiniani, A.D. 840—882. Annales Metenses, 882—888. Abbo Monachus, *De Bellis, ubi supra*. Regino Monsanus, *Chronicon*, lib. ii. p. 59—87. Hermannus Contractus, *Chronica*, p. 226—248. Annales Fulenses, an. 840—888.

rule; and even in this case the proposal had probably to come through the arch-chancellor. “Having received,” continues Hincmar, “the royal communication, the members took one, or two, or three days to deliberate on it, according to its importance; and during this time messengers continually passed to and from the palace, bearing their questions and the royal answers. No stranger was permitted to approach them until the result of their deliberations was laid before the monarch, who then, with such wisdom as he had received from God, made his decision, which all obeyed.” From these words, it is evident that the assembly had the right of advice only, not of suffrage; that the adoption no less than the initiative of laws rested with the emperor. Why, then, it may be asked, were they convened? In the first place, their advice, the information which they brought from all parts of the empire, must, doubtless, have been exceedingly useful to him, since it enabled him to make such changes in the nature of his propositions as he found were required by circumstances. That he sedulously sought such information, is expressly affirmed by the same archbishop, who represents him as often conversing for that purpose with different individuals, lay and clerical. We are also told, that, when the different orders of the state disagreed as to any particular measure, his presence was desired, to settle the controversy... Another use of the diet was, to try and condemn noble delinquents,—to determine whether they should lose their fiefs or dignities, their liberty or life. From the earliest period, each member of the Germanic tribes possessed the privilege of being tried by his peers: if he belonged to an inferior station, he was arraigned before some local tribunal,—that of the count, vicar, centuary, or échevin, according to the nature of the charge: if a great functionary, whether civil or military, he could be tried only by the assembled states. The Carlovingian princes had no wish to abolish a privilege which was consecrated by the practice of so many ages, and which, where condemnation followed, removed so

much odium from their own shoulders. It may be easily supposed that their assemblies were attended by few,—that the bulk of even the free population could have no part in them. The bishops and nobles; the functionaries of the crown, such as the dukes, counts, vicars, recorders, scabini, &c.; were there *de jure*; but no proprietor of land who possessed less than three mansi, or about thirty-six acres, could be present. It is, however, worthy of remark, that when, through the inclemency of the weather, the meeting could not be held in the open air, the nobles, prelates, and public magistrates only, entered the hall appointed for their deliberations. If the business under discussion were purely ecclesiastical, the clergy deliberated in a separate apartment; if purely temporal, the secular members did the same; if of a mixed nature, the two orders debated in common. Whether there was any thing that may be properly termed *representation* at these assemblies, confidently as it has been asserted, may well be doubted. In the capitularies, indeed, we meet with expressions which seem to indicate the number that every lordship — every jurisdiction of a count — shall send; but, on cool examination, we shall find that this injunction applied to the notorious disinclination of the Franks to undertake a long and expensive journey to the *Campus-Maii*.* The monarch wished a determinate number to be present; and equity demanded that each district should furnish its contingent. This is, doubtless, all that is meant by the expressions which have been so ingeniously wrested to serve a purpose. At this annual assembly in May, were discussed all affairs of moment; for the one which was held in autumn regarded the finances alone, and was attended only by the chief lords and counsellors who had experience in affairs: “Aliud placitum cum senioribus tantum et paucissimis consiliariis habebatur,” are the decisive words of Hincmar. But

* Under the Merovingians, as the reader will recollect, the assembly was called *Campus Martii*, because it was held in March; but when the father of Charlemagne, or perhaps that emperor himself, changed the month for that of May, it necessarily changed its denomination.

it may be doubted whether the *Campus Maii* was at all occupied with judicial, however it might be suffered to advise in legislative matters. It was no tribunal of appeal: the only one which existed, travelled with the court. There were two great officers, the *apocrisiarius* and the *comes palatii*: the former superintended the affairs of the clergy, from whom he heard appeals; the latter also received them from the lay tribunals; but neither could decide, in other than trivial cases, without the pleasure of the emperor. The clergy had their own local tribunals annexed to every cathedral, where the bishop was the judge. The lay tribunals were numerous. That the *scabinus*, though often confounded with the ordinary assessor, or with the juryman, was a judge, is evident from all the Germanic codes; he could not however, alone, pronounce sentence, but in conjunction with others (there were generally seven in the same court), who formed something like a bench of magistrates. Their decision was not to be set aside by the authority of the count or vicar: “*Postquam scabini eum (latronem) judicaverint, non est licentia comitis vel vicarii ei vitam concedere,*” says a law of the Lombards, among whom this officer had precisely the same authority as among the kindred Franks. The *centuarius*, who presided over a hundred,—a term common to the Anglo-Saxons and the Franks,—was above the *scabini*; his next superior was the vicar of the court; then the count; and, lastly, the duke. But these functionaries appear to have been restricted to the judicial administration of the towns: in the rural districts there was certainly another class of magistrates, the feudal proprietors, whose jurisdiction is not defined, but is represented as very extensive. They were, doubtless, the natural judges of the serfs, who, long before this time, were transferred with the estates they cultivated, exactly like the cattle.—We may conclude this account of the government and administration of the empire by observing, that, besides the general assemblies, there were provincial ones, held every year, attended by the same ecclesiast-

tical and lay members, who transacted the business of their respective jurisdictions, and afterwards made reports to the monarch concerning their state and wants.*

752 If from the administration we turn to the condition
to of the Franks, we shall find evidence enough that the
888. feudal system had made rapid strides since the fall of the Merovingians. The great distinguishing mark of this progress is to be found in the fact, that the poor peasantry were universally changed into serfs. Numerous charters, indeed, exist, in which the successors of Clovis, from the seventh century downwards, cede the cultivators, together with the lands, to churches and monasteries ; and the number of such cultivators, like that of the cattle, is sometimes minutely specified. But these were Gauls, or other people, whom the fortune of war had made slaves, and transferred to the waste lands. The number of such charters becomes much greater from the time of Charlemagne ; with this important addition,—that the jurisdiction always accompanied the property. Of that property the serfs were as much a part as the soil itself : "themselves, their meadows and fields, their huts and substance, whether movable or immovable," became irrevocably subject to the new owner. By this means, and by the example afforded to the old beneficiaries, benefices became not merely hereditary, but patrimonial. The nature of property was to accumulate in masses ; the holders of poor benefices, anxious to satisfy present wants, and careless of their offspring, were generally disposed to sell. Towards the close of the ninth century, most of the Franks were great landed gentry or nobles. But this was a misfortune to the state : the disappearance of the smaller proprietors, of whom all bore arms, almost annihilated the local military bands necessary for the defence of the country. When a foreign war was to be undertaken, respectable armies could still be congregated

* Mably, *Considérations sur l'Histoire de France*, tom. I. liv. 2. chap. 2.
et 3. Guisot, *Histoire de la Civilisation en France*, tom. ii. vingt. leçon,
Hincmarus, *de Ordine Palatii*; necnon *Capitularia Regum Francorum*,
passim.

on the frontiers ; but the towns and villages, as we every where find during the Norman and Saracenic ravages, were left without defence. Hence the French nation consisted of a few thousand Frank gentlemen, located among many millions of serfs,—the latter without rights, without a social existence, on a level with the beasts around them. The way in which their serfs were managed, appears from a capitulary of Charlemagne prior to his assumption of the imperial dignity : it establishes the economy of the royal domains, which were spread throughout every province, and were as extensive as they were numerous, comprehending, we may infer, one fourth of all France. Over each district was a judge, whose duty consisted not merely in summarily applying to offenders the penalties of the code, but in superintending every branch of industry practised by the serfs. In fact, he presided over every thing, from the hatching of chickens to the manufacture of stuffs, from the growth of vegetables to the management of the corn-mills ; he gave to every workman the appointed task ; he distributed to the women the hemp or wool they were to spin. The manufactures and produce arising from this extensive industry, supplied the court and the army ; or, if peace subsisted, the greater portion was sold, and the money transmitted to the royal treasury. The subjection of so many serfs to the caprice of one man, whose authority appears to have been wholly unchecked, was not very favourable to happiness. If we add, that the same system was pursued, as by inference we may conclude it was, by the other great proprietors of the empire,—with one variation, that the judicial functions were exercised by the proprietor himself,—we shall see little in the condition of the people to render it enviable. Some ameliorations would, doubtless, exist.—1. The *missi dominici*, who were two at least, one always a bishop, visited each lordship every three months, to hold the *placita minora*, or assizes ; and they had an eye on the conduct of the counts, vicars, and other functionaries. It was owing to their

reports that these functionaries were brought to trial, and that new capitularies issued from the throne.—2. We must not forget,—and this forms the great distinction between Roman catholic society and every other,—that the great proprietors, like their monarch, were subject to the tribunal of penance; and that the canons of the church forbade absolution where oppression or wrong had been inflicted, unless satisfaction followed: this satisfaction or atonement was, in fact, a necessary condition of that absolution.—3. The bishops and abbots themselves were among the chief proprietors—probably the church owned as much territory as the crown; for we know that Alcuin alone had twenty thousand serfs attached to his estates; and that hundreds of charters exist, involving as many territorial donations to sees and monasteries. Now, in all ages and countries, the church has been an indulgent landlord; in all countries it is so at the present day; so that the condition of the serfs in one fourth of France would not be oppressed.—4. Lastly, when the church had no temporal jurisdiction, she yet considered it incumbent on her character and office to interfere in behalf of the poor and the bondsmen: wherever there was a rural community, there would be a church; and wherever a church, a resident pastor, whose influence, in those days of religious feeling, would not be inferior to that of the resident judge or noble. In fact, we may safely affirm, that, but for the influence of the Roman catholic church, the feudal system in most parts of Europe would have been intolerable.*

In contemplating the splendid but fleeting empire of Charlemagne, the mind naturally enquires, Has every thing which he created, perished with him? Did he give no permanent impulse to the progress of society? Did none of his institutions stamp it with an enduring character? At first sight, on regarding the sudden disappearance of his power and family, of his *missi dominici*,

* The same authorities, with the addition of Sismondi, *Histoire des Français*, tom. ii. (Reign of Charlemagne), and of Ducange, *Glossarium ad verb. Centenarius, Scabini*.

minici, his *placita regni*, his whole central administration, and the gradual disuse of his laws, we might be tempted to exclaim that he had lived in vain, or at most for his own ambition only. In truth, he has generally been regarded as a meteor, which, after blazing for a moment, disappeared, and left the world in greater darkness than before. Yet nothing is more undoubted, than that some of his institutions, and much of the spirit which he created, remained to after-ages. If his own empire fell, he was the cause of one nearly as great—one which has done incalculable good to European society, and which subsists at the present day. To him the Germanic empire owes its existence ; to him we are in some degree indebted for the noble stand which that empire has so often made for liberty, alike temporal and spiritual, against the Huns, the Turks, and the pope. Again, his domestic institutions — his counts, vicars, vassals, &c. — remained as he established them : he it was who aroused the slumbering spirit of local government, who restored security to the unprotected, who displaced anarchy by a firm, compact, vigorous authority. His military policy, it must be acknowledged, was felt to be oppressive. The man who held a benefice by the tenure of service, could not complain when he was summoned to a distant field ; but the small allodial proprietor, who did not own above thirty-six acres, who was yet obliged to purchase the necessary arms, and defray his own expenses until he reached the camp, was certainly oppressed. If he did not obey the summons, he was fined to the exorbitant amount of sixty golden solidi : if he did obey, he was sure to be equally ruined ; for the expenses of his journey, added to the loss occasioned by his absence, could not be supported by any family with means so narrow. He marched to the field under the banner of his local chief, to whom — so greatly had the feudal spirit increased—he swore fidelity, no less than to the monarch. Nor was that monarch's influence over the church less lasting ; whether always exerted for good,

may be doubted. He abandoned to *some* chapters and people the election of bishops, — a moderation, for which he deserves the praise of all posterity.* The Merovingians had filled the church with ignorant and vicious, or, at best, careless prelates ; the ancient mode of election soon, if not removed, at least greatly diminished the abuse. That he assumed, in other respects, over ecclesiastical affairs, a power which no other Christian monarch, except the Wisigothic kings of Spain, possessed, is evident from the whole tenor of the capitularies. He showed that, whenever the pretensions of the Holy See were unjust, they might be withheld ; and his example has not been lost on his imperial successors ; — witness the war of the investiture ; witness the various concordats which, in more recent times, have been sanctioned by papal and royal authority. Lastly, the impulse which he gave to letters was no less signal, — a subject to which we shall revert in a future chapter.†

II. FRANCE.—In France, the dynasty of the Carlo-
888 vingians did not end with Charles III. ; it continued to
to subsist, or rather to slumber, — subject, as may be sup-
987. posed, to interruption from revolution and anarchy, —
about a century after that memorable period. This
space of time is, in its historic features, the most repul-
sive, perhaps, in the national annals ; it presents us
with few guides, yet we have a perfect labyrinth to
pass. The fall of the empire was succeeded by the
formation of numerous petty states ; the heads of which,
under the titles of duke and count, were virtually sove-
reigns ; those under the regal, were confessedly inde-
pendent of the Carlovingian princes. We have already
related how Provence had its king, even before the de-
position of Charles ; but its existence was of short
duration ; for early in the tenth century we find it de-

* Let us hope that the trust which the crown has so monstrously abused, is about to be taken from it. This is the first and most pressing reform that we want. We must do away with the unfair election of courtiers or ministerial tools ; we must open to the learned, the pious, and the unpatronised parish clergymen, the way to the highest dignities.

† Authorities : — Mably, *Considérations* ; Guizot, *Histoire* ; the *Capitularia Regum Francorum* ; and Sismondi.

pendent on Burgundy. Transjurane Burgundy, or that part of the province which lay beyond Mount Jura, comprising Switzerland and the Grisons, followed the example by electing the duke Rodolf to the same dignity. Rodolf also laid claim to Lorraine ; but that claim was opposed by Arnulf, the newly elected emperor, who contended that the country belonged to the Germanic crown; and who compelled Rodolf to do homage even for Transjurane Burgundy. Neustria, which for some time fluctuated between the claims of Eudes count of Paris and Charles the Simple, ended by choosing the former, though the throne continued to be disputed by Charles until his death in 898. This kingdom extended only from the Meuse to the Loire. At first Aquitaine had its king, Reinulf II., who had previously ruled the province as duke, and as count of Poitiers ; but he appears subsequently to have renounced the regal title, and to have reigned under that of count. The Bretons had their duke, Alan, surnamed the Great ; the Gascons had Sancho Mudarra, whom the Navarrese historians have erroneously claimed as king of their province ; Flanders was subject to count Baldwin II., who governed the country lying between the Scheldt, the Somme, and the sea ; and that part of Burgundy which lies within the French kingdom obeyed duke Richard I. Besides these great feudatories, there were others whose dominions were of smaller extent, yet who were equally independent, since at best, and occasionally only, they owned a sort of superiority in the king of the Franks. Anjou, Périgord, Auvergne, Angoulême, Toulouse, Vermandois, had each its count. A new and more powerful sovereignty was soon formed. Rollo the Dane, after devastating the western province for years, forced Charles the Simple, in 912, to confer on him the fief of Normandy, of which the capital was Rouen, and which continued to be possessed by his descendants long after the conquest of England by duke William. Rollo extended his feudal superiority over Bretagne, the dukes of which long continued to be vassals of the

Norman duchy. To trace the revolutions of these separate dynasties, of which all sprang into existence about the same time, would be impossible, not only from the complexity of the subject, but from the almost absolute dearth of authorities. Though the French kingdom, as it was called, occupied neither the most extended nor the most important part of the country, with it rests the history of the French people: at the worst period it was acknowledged to possess a nominal superiority over the rest, and eventually it absorbed them all within its own enlarged vortex. The seat of the French king was at Laon; for Paris had its count, who, like the other great feudatories, became ambitious enough to aim at a sovereignty, and who assumed the title of duke of France. In 923, Hugues le Blanc was powerful enough to defeat Charles, and to confer the crown on Rodolf duke of Burgundy; but on the death of Rodolf, it reverted to a Carlovingian — to Louis IV., surnamed D'Outre Mer, so called because of his residence at the court of our Athelstan, whither, on the captivity of his father, Charles, he had been removed by his mother. But during this period, the influence of the counts of Paris, like that of the mayors of Austrasia, increased, while that of the Carlovingians declined: they were soon powerful enough to decide the fate of France; but though they were often at war with the reigning monarch, they established Lothaire (954—986) and Louis V. (986—987), the son and grandson of Louis d'Outre Mer, on the throne. On the death of the latter, however, the army and the church, discontented apparently with a succession of helpless, unprincipled families, rejected Charles duke of Lorraine, the last prince of that house, and raised to the throne Hugues Capet, count of Paris, whose successors have ever since occupied it, if we except the short interruption occasioned by the usurpation of Buonaparte. At this period (987) Provence and Transjurane Burgundy formed one kingdom; Arles was governed by Conrad the Pacific; Lorraine, which had sunk to the rank of duchy, was

governed by Thierry I.; and the independent fiefs from the Alps to the British Channel, and from the Scheldt to the Pyrenees, had now increased to about fifty.*

The period over which we have run is remarkable for the revolution it witnessed in the condition of the people. During the ninth century they exhibit as little patriotism as courage; they flee at the first approach of the Normans: but in the tenth we perceive that a noble stand was made by them; that, instead of dreading, they insisted on being led against the enemy. One great cause of this change was doubtless the increase of population. The proprietors were no longer defended by an imperial chief; they had no longer to fight for a great monarchy, but for the district or province they inhabited—often for their own possessions only; and, in the scarcity of vigorous arms to assist them, they began to devise the means of multiplying the rural population, and administering to its comfort. They felt that the value of their territory depended on security; that it should be estimated, not so much by superficial extent, as by the number of troops. They eagerly offered land to any vassal who would cultivate it, subject to two conditions—a light annual return, and personal service in the field. The younger sons of gentry, the experienced chiefs, the men of consideration, obtained an extent far beyond their actual wants; so that they divided the fief, on the same conditions as they themselves recognised. Hence there was a due subordination of ranks in every rural community: there were many degrees between the chief holders of the fief and the villains. Some held land as a condition of

* *Annales Metenses*, A. D. 888—903. *Frodoardus, Ecclesiæ Romane Historia*, lib. iv. cap. 1—37. *passim*: though dealing in puerilities, and mostly filled with the praises of the archbishop Hincmar, this work contains some valuable incidental helps to the history of the period down to the year 960. *Idem, Chronica*, A. D. 888—978. *Radulphus Glaber, Chronicón*, lib. i. cap. 2—5. et lib. ii. cap. 1—3. *Hugo Floriacensis, Chronicón*, p. 64, &c. (in the translated collection of Guizot, tom. vi.). *Gulielmus Gemmeticensis, Historia Normannorum*, lib. ii. c. 1—20. lib. iii. cap. 1—12, et lib. iv. cap. 1—16. *passim*. *Ordericus Vitalis, Historia Ecclesiastica Normannorum variis locis*. *Sismondi, Histoire des Français*, tom. iii. *Guizot, Histoire de la Civilisation*, tom. ii. sect. 24.

mechanical labour ; some in consideration of their commercial knowledge : for after the wants of all were satisfied, a surplus would remain for sale to fill the coffers of the baron. As the number of hands, no less for defence than for cultivation, would long continue inadequate, extraordinary encouragement was afforded to marriage ; hence the amazing multiplication of the human species from the commencement of the tenth century. How different this from the state of things under the Carlovingian emperors, when a proprietor preferred a scanty peasantry, to escape the obligation of supporting a considerable number of men-at-arms ! As a consequence, hamlets were built, and expanded into villages, or even towns ; walls were thrown round them, and, at the same time, round the residence of the chief, who dwelt with them. Another revolution must be noticed. The male allodial proprietors who remained, finding that they were unable to protect themselves against hostile aggression, were glad to obtain protection from some baron or prince, by changing the tenure of their possessions,—they consenting to hold as a fief what they had previously held *jure proprietario*. That this multiplication of vassals was attended by a corresponding increase of comfort, is not so much asserted by chroniclers — always too brief to leave room for reflection—as evidenced by the change in the disposition of the people. They now flew to arms, at the first signal, with an alacrity that showed they had something to fight for—something no less dear to them than to their lords — their cottages and family, their fields and flocks. One disadvantage, indeed, they had, — their more rigorous subjection to their superior, who held a more extended jurisdiction over them ; whom they regarded as their natural judge, no less than general, and from whose decision there was no appeal. But so long as the barons had need of their services, in other words, so long as there was a war with some neighbouring baron — for at this period they were not slow in asserting their right to make war or peace at pleasure, — they

were sure to be treated well, even to be caressed. It was only when no enemy was near, that their lord oppressed them ; but this was seldom : for such were the restless passions of these petty sovereigns, that they were generally either actually engaged in war, or meditating its commencement. The transformation of deserts into populous villages and towns had the effect contemplated : in less than 200 years the counts of Toulouse, Flanders, Vermandois, the dukes of Normandy, Bretagne, or Burgundy, could bring greater armies into the field, more numerous, better disciplined, and, consequently, more formidable, than had ever been in the power of most Carlovingian emperors.*

The reign of *Hugues Capet* (987—996) exhibits nothing that can be noticed here, if we except, first, his dispute for the throne with Charles of Lorraine, the last scion of the Carlovingian race ; and, secondly, the origin of several ducal houses in the rest of France. Charles failed, and, with his family, was consigned to perpetual imprisonment. On the death of Conrad the Pacific, king of Arles and of Transjurane Burgundy, the crown was inherited by his son, Rodolf III. Rodolf dissatisfied his barons by attempting to restore the royal authority, and would, doubtless, have been de-throned by them, but for the mediation of his aunt, St. Adelaide, widowed consort of the emperor Otho the Great. But though she secured him in the possession of the royal dignity, she could not prevent Berchtold and Humbert, father and son, counts of Maurienne, from founding the house of Savoy ; nor Otho from founding that of Franche-Comté ; nor Guy of Albo from giving rise to the sovereign house of the dauphins of Vienne ; nor Wilhelm of Burgundy from laying the foundation of the great house of Provence. Under *Robert*, son of the able and valiant Hugues (996—1031), the *placita regni* ceased to be held ; the barons exercised, in its full sense, the jurisdiction of judges ; and

* Sismondi, *Histoire des Français*, tom. iii. p. 283. Mably, *Observations*, tom. ii. liv. 2. et 3.

the royal authority was bounded to the city where the court actually resided. Each great feudatory was, consequently, as powerful as the king ; and when the latter wished to avenge an injury, or to diminish the influence of a subject who defied him, he was compelled to seek aid, either from some foreign prince, or from some other feudatory hostile to the one obnoxious. This policy authorised the system which was now beginning to be extensively practised,—that of internal war between the great barons. The consequences naturally were, the diminution of some states, and the augmentation of others. Thus, Eudes count of Champagne united Troyes and Meaux to Blois and Chartres. The reign of *Henry I.* (1031—1060), son of Robert, was no less remarkable for the augmentation of the feudal power, and for the diminution of the royal. A dispute as to the nomination of an archbishop of Sens led to a war between him and duke Eudes ; in which, though the latter submitted, policy, not fear, was the cause. During the late reigns there had been some dispute respecting the superiority over Transjurane Burgundy and Provence ; now they were not merely subjected to the empire, but united with it. When we add, that Lorraine, Alsace, Franche-Comté, the Lyonnese, and Dauphiné owned the feudal supremacy of the emperor, we may form some idea of the situation in which the kings of France were placed. The long reign of *Philip I.* (1060—1108), successor of Henry, was much more remarkable : its most memorable event was the conquest of England by the Norman William ; an event which, considering that the previous power of the dukes rendered them a match for the crown, was no way agreeable to the French court. It was, indeed, an era to be deplored by France even more than by England. Though monarch of his new conquest, William, as duke of Normandy, was still a vassal of the Capets : that pretensions and claims of the two princes would often clash, and lead to war, if not in their own time, at least in that of their immediate successors, might have been,

and doubtless was, easily foreseen. After their elevation to so fair a throne as that of England, the proud dukes, who, previous to that event, had frequently triumphed over the French kings, were not likely to lose either their pride, or their hopes of aggrandisement. Before the junction of the English crown with the Norman duchy, the French and the Saxons were seldom hostile to each other: they had no rivalry in ambition, no disputed interests to reconcile; but from that memorable period may be traced centuries of hostile rivalry destructive to the interests of both realms. To the most ordinary observer it was apparent, that, unless the Capets greatly amplified their possessions, or persuaded their barons to join with them, they could have no chance with the formidable Anglo-Normans. Of this fact they were sensible enough; and they silently commenced a career of aggrandisement, as well as of dominion over their great vassals, which, however slow, and thwarted by circumstances, was almost sure to be successful. They had, besides, the advantages which defenders always possess in their own country,—strong fortresses, an opportunity of harassing the enemy, and of intercepting his supplies. For these and other reasons, instead of being, as many expected, overwhelmed; instead of seeing the sceptre of France pass from them to the Normans, the Capets kept their ground, and without much disadvantage; or, if the fortune of arms were adverse, they were soon able to repair the evil. With William I., Philip had little misunderstanding; but in the side of William Rufus he was a sore thorn, by the art with which he fomented the discontent of Robert Curt-hose, duke of Normandy, who was perpetually at variance with the English king. The zeal of the papal legates to restore peace, and the departure of Robert, who had assumed the cross, for the Holy Land, restored outward peace for a season. On the return of Robert, who found his youngest brother, Henry I., on the throne, the war was renewed: but in it Robert was taken prisoner; and at its conclusion, the duchy of Normandy, notwithstanding

ing the opposition of Philip, was united with the crown of England. *Louis VI.*, surnamed the Fat (1108—1137), in a few years after his father's death, drew the sword against Henry; but though he was a brave and able prince, though he compelled some and persuaded others of his barons—for the royal authority was now on the increase—to espouse his cause, though Normandy was willing to have its separate ruler, he could make no impression on his formidable enemy. In his last days he had the mortification to see the territories of rival princes approach his own boundary. The dominions of Aragon and Catalonia comprehended Provence, which had fallen to the Spanish crown by female succession: the count of Toulouse did not own him as liege superior; and, what was far worse, the marriage of Geoffrey Plantagenet, count of Anjou, with Matilda, daughter of Henry, threatened to carry that important duchy into the royal house of England. This misfortune seems to be counterbalanced by the marriage of his son, *Louis VII.*, surnamed the Young (1137—1180), with Eleanor, heiress of Aquitaine; but that great province was not yet to pass into his house. *Louis VII.*, like other princes of his time, joined the crusade, and was accompanied by his queen; but that princess, far his superior in talent and enterprise, learned to despise and to resist him. As they were within the prohibited degrees—prohibited to suit the power or avarice of the church—the queen obtained a divorce. As she had only two daughters by Louis, and was still young, her hand was eagerly sought by the sovereigns of the time: she conferred it on the most powerful,—on Henry Plantagenet, son of Geoffrey and Matilda, to whose continental possessions of Normandy, Bretagne, and Anjou, she added Aquitaine and Poitou. In two years after this event, Henry, by the death of Stephen, mounted the throne of England, and became a terrible rival of Louis. Such were the vigour, the genius, the power, the policy of Henry,—one of the greatest princes that ever swayed a sceptre,—that had it not been, first, for his disputes with

the notorious Thomas à Becket, and, secondly, for his wars with his profligate sons,—misfortunes which fully counterbalanced his great power,—the crown of the Capets would assuredly have adorned his brow. In the one case, Louis knew how to exercise his influence by connecting himself with the church; in the latter, by fomenting the undutiful conduct of the young princes. Yet, with all these drawbacks, the grandeur of Henry continued to increase: his last acquisition was the fief of Berri, which was the dowry of Alix of France, daughter of Louis, on her marriage with a son of Henry. Yet, at the period of his death (1180), Louis might justly boast that, partly by family alliances, partly by policy, partly by persuasion or force, he had exercised greater influence over his proudest vassals than any of his predecessors. He balanced their power by that of the municipal corporations, which circumstances, rather than the royal will, had lately called into being; he exalted the legitimate authority of the sovereign over the vassal, and was fortunate enough to procure the recognition of his pretensions by both the spiritual and temporal states of his kingdom. *Philip Augustus* (1179—1223) was more fortunate than his predecessors. By cunning, by open force, or by perfidy—he was never scrupulous as to the means he employed—he considerably augmented his dominions, no less than the power of the crown. Omitting his exploits in the Holy Land—exploits which appear to much disadvantage when contrasted with those of his rival, Richard Coeur de Lion—his first acquisition was a part of Vermandois, wrung from count Baldwin of Flanders, whom he defeated. His object in forsaking Richard, and in precipitately returning to France, was to profit by the absence of that monarch; and he it was who procured the detention, if not the arrest, of Richard by Leopold duke of Austria. He won over John, the brother of Richard; he instigated the barons of Aquitaine to revolt; and he took some minor places; but the liberation of the English hero arrested his pro-

gress. Against the despicable John, he was uniformly successful. He debauched the fidelity of Arthur duke of Bretagne, as he had before debauched that of John ; he prevailed on the barons of Aquitaine and Poitou openly to revolt ; and he took advantage of the circumstances in which John was then placed, and the hatred in which that cowardly king was regarded, to conquer the whole of Normandy. This conquest he effected under the forms of law : he summoned John, as his vassal, to answer in person the accusation of murder, and when that wretched poltroon failed to appear, he declared the duchy escheated to the crown. Not satisfied with this acquisition, nor even with the subsequent reduction of Poitou, Philip cast an eye on Languedoc, subject to the count de Toulouse. The heresy which had long afflicted that province, and the call of the pope to extirpate it, opened a favourable door to his ambition. Though, in the wars which followed, the sectarians were exterminated, and his influence established over the country, he did not unite it with his crown : the reason appears to have been, the ambitious views of his son over England, to the crown of which that prince had been called by a party hostile to king John. Louis knew that a petty province might at any time be gained, while the opportunity of seizing a powerful kingdom might never again occur. His failure, at a time when success appeared certain, is known to every reader of English history. On his accession to the French throne (1223—1226), he found the basis of feudal power considerably shaken, and that of the crown greatly extended, by his father's policy. The provinces over which he immediately ruled were more than double in extent those to which Philip had succeeded. Poitou had, indeed, been restored ; but Louis soon subdued it. But the country of the Albigenses was the object which most attracted his ambition. He procured the condemnation of Raymund VII., count of Toulouse, who had been charged with heresy ; and he soon overran that fair region, which he declared a part of his dominions. By his father and himself, the English

had thus been almost banished from the continent; the kingdom had been more than tripled in extent; and the foundation laid for transferring its real sovereignty from the barons to the crown. Under St. Louis (1226—1270) the kingdom continued to increase in extent, and the crown in power. As the new king, however, was only eleven years of age on his father's death, the early years of his reign were not without troubles. The great barons thought the period favourable for restoring their diminished authority: some refused to attend the coronation in the cathedral of Rheims; and though, when deserted by their leader, Thibault IV., count of Champagne and Brie, they reluctantly submitted, many continued to defy the throne during the minority. Yet Blanche, the regent and queen-mother, was able to send troops into Languedoc, which she thenceforth united with the crown, and to keep in check the rebellious Bretons. Nor did she show less policy than she had hitherto shown courage, in marrying her son to Margaret of Provence, heiress of that enviable territory, which, though dependent on the kingdom of Arles and of the empire, might in time be subjected to that of France. But Louis himself had no personal views: he was beyond all comparison the most disinterested, just, and pious prince of the middle ages. Justice, in fact, as an all-controlling principle, directed him, from the highest to the lowest duties. Yet he was not without some opposition from his great vassals, who beheld with pain the increasing power of the crown. In support of their ancient abuses, they leagued with Henry III. of England, who was naturally anxious to regain the provinces lost by his detestable father. The count de la Marche, one of the most powerful among them, was the father-in-law of Henry III.: he refused to do homage to Alfonso, brother of the French king, who had just been invested with the fief of Poitou, and who, by marriage with the heiress of Raymund of Toulouse, might hope to acquire the remaining wrecks of the sovereignty belonging to

that once powerful vassal. But Louis armed in defence of his rights, and triumphed. With equal success did he extend his influence over Provence by the marriage of his brother Charles, count of Anjou and Maine, with a younger sister of his consort. The domination of the Capet now virtually extended over the greater part of the French monarchy. His great vassals, indeed, might still be formidable to him ; but they readily acknowledged his jurisdiction, from the Scheldt to Guienne. In fact, except that province and some places in Aquitaine, which acknowledged Henry of England, and the eastern parts, which depended on the empire, the whole of modern France was immediately governed by himself or his subject vassals. His absence on the crusades in Syria, his captivity and ransom, had a profound effect on his mind. His misfortunes appear to have agitated his scrupulous conscience relative to the injustice of retaining the possessions which his two predecessors had wrested from England. In 1259 he took a resolution which his counsellors deemed no less extravagant than extraordinary,—that of surrendering to his royal brother a part of these possessions. In fact, he did surrender Périgord, the Limousin, Quercy, and Xaintonge, and acknowledged Henry as duke of Aquitaine. In return, indeed, Henry renounced all claim to Normandy, Touraine, Anjou, Maine, and Poitou ; but this he might readily do where he had no hope of gaining an inch of territory, and where the people were averse to the English sway. In fact, the inhabitants of the countries restored complained bitterly of their transfer to the English, whose sway is represented—we fear with justice—as oppressive and odious. Of their dissatisfaction with the arrangement no other proof need be adduced than the fact that, after the canonisation of Louis, they refused to observe his festival. This good prince passed the rest of his reign in efforts to improve the administration of justice, to incline his great feudatories to peace, and to discharge his Christian duties. In 1267 he was fana-

tical enough again to assume the cross; but the care due to his dominions would not allow him to embark until 1270. On his passage to Syria, he resolved to punish the king of Tunis: he took Carthage by assault; but a pestilential disorder breaking out among his troops carried off a considerable number—himself among the rest. This event put an end to the crusade: the survivors sought the coast of Sicily; and from thence returned to their respective homes.*

The long period over which we have passed exhibits 987
the full perfection of the feudal system, and, at the same time, the causes which led to its decline. We have seen that it existed long before; that its foundation was laid under the Merovingians; and that under the Carlovingians it was established by law and by general custom. But yet there was a great difference between the condition of military retainers under the immediate successors of Charlemagne and those of Hugh Capet. In the former case castles were not erected; the great barons had no court, though they had tribunals; sub-infeudations were not so numerous: though lands were granted, we nowhere read that certain rights attached to the revenues, that certain domestic offices were hereditarily conferred; nor do we find a recognised code of duties and obligations, nor such a gradual series of descending links in the great feudal chain. During the second period, the men who had before been mere warriors, and who had exercised a jurisdiction rather by the royal will than by hereditary indefeasible right, were become actual sovereigns: if they yielded homage to the crown, and marched under the royal banner, they were in an equal degree the lords of other noble feud-

* Radulphus Glaber, *Monachus Cluniacensis, Historia sui Temporis*, lib. i.—v. p. 1—58. Helgaldus, *Epitome Vita Roberti Regis*, p. 59—78. Anonymi *Fragmenta Historiae Francorum* (Duchesne, tom. iv. passim). Sugerius, *Vita Ludovici Grossi*, cap. 1—21. p. 281, &c. *Gesta Ludovici VII.* p. 390—411.; necnon *Historia Gloriosi Regis Ludovici*, p. 412, &c. *Wilhelmus Brito, Philippidos*, lib. i.—xii. p. 93—256. Rigordus, *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, p. 1—67. Gulielmus Armoricus, *Historia de Vitâ ejusdem*, p. 68—92. Anonymus, *Gesta Ludovici VIII.* p. 284, &c. Gulielmus de Nangiaco, *Gesta S. Ludovici IX.* p. 395—405. Siemandi, *Histoire des François*, tom. iv. v. vi. vii. et viii.

atories ; they too could declare war against any prince, even against their own sovereign ; and they could summon their own vassals to their standard, and punish disobedience or negligence as severely as the most potent king. Every suzerain baron held a cour plénière in his district, where he conferred or revoked fiefs, according as they were vacant or forfeited ; where his accused vassals were condemned or acquitted ; and he had also a judicial court, which was designed to supply the place of the placita minora under the Germanic emperors. In these latter tribunals, in which the subordinate barons sat as judges, presided by their chief, who exercised the same power as the ancient courts, the more weighty affairs between vassal and vassal, between one freeman and another, were decided. To the serfs these tribunals were not open : they were judged in the last resort by their immediate superiors. In the greater court of justice the form of compurgation was threefold : the accused could swear with a certain number of jurors ; he could demand the ordeal, or judgment of God ; or he could prove his innocence body to body in mortal combat. It does not appear that, until the thirteenth century, appeals to the crown were allowed : they could be carried from one feudal tribunal to a higher one—from that of the less baron to that of the suzerain, whether count, duke, or bishop. The suzerains themselves, however, were amenable to the cour plénière of the king. When conviction followed, and the fief escheated, it was conferred on another noble, attended by the triple ceremony of homage, fealty, and investiture. In doing homage, the vassal knelt with head uncovered, his belt loose, without sword or spurs : placing his hands between those of his lord, he swore service with life and limb, with honour and loyalty ; and on rising he imprinted a kiss on the cheek of the suzerain. The oath of fealty might be taken by proxy ; but the homage was of necessity personal. Investiture was *proper* when the vassal was put in actual possession of the domain : it was *symbolical*, but not the less

effectual, when conveyed by the tradition of a turf, stone, handful of soil, &c. After the tradition, the vassal's duties commenced,—duties refined far beyond what had prevailed in the Carlovingian times. The military service, which continued only forty days*, was a very small portion of the obligation: not to keep the lord's council; to conceal from him the hostility, however secret, of his enemies; to violate his wife, or sister, or daughter, or to connive at the violation by others; not to accompany him in battle; not to defend him at the risk of life; not to be his hostage, or to embrace captivity for him, were penal offences. Nor were these all the duties exacted by the suzerain. When a vassal entered by hereditary descent on any fief, he was compelled to present his lord with an acknowledgment,—sometimes horses and armour, but generally a sum of money,—under the name of a *relief*, the amount of which was arbitrary, and often a source of dissatisfaction on the part of the vassal. In our Magna Charta it appears low enough,—about one fourth the annual value. In like manner, if the fief changed hands, there was a fine for the superior. In certain cases the lord could demand *aids*; an expedition to the Holy Land; the marriage of an eldest son, or daughter, or sister; the majority of that son; a fine due from the superior to the king; his own ransom from captivity; were occasions on which all vassals were required to open their purses. Again, the wardship of a vassal rested with the lord, who, during the period of minority, enjoyed the revenues of the fief. If the ward were a female, she could yet inherit, on condition she gave her hand to whomsoever the lord should select for her: as she was incapable by her sex of performing the chief duty of a vassal—military service,—he had surely a right to see that the substitute was equal to the obligation. All owners or holders of fiefs had not equal powers or privileges. All who held immediately from

* Forty days for a single knight's fee; twenty for half a fee; but if the vassal held two or three fees, he was obliged to find a substitute for each, to assist him in doing service for all. If he failed to appear, a fine was the penalty.

the crown, however various the extent of their possessions, were properly barons, and *pares*, or equals: they carried their own banner into the field, and held the high jurisdiction,—that is, power of life and death. The castellan, or keeper of a castle, though he held of a baron, had generally the same jurisdiction, since it accompanied the castle; but there was this distinction between them, that whereas a baron's gallows stood on four legs, a castellan's must have three only. In some cases,—but these were few,—where the haute justice was possessed by the simple vassal, (probably by delegation, not by right,) that machine of morality could only have two legs. *Arrière* or sub-feudatories held the low jurisdiction, or the power of deciding in inferior cases only, where not even the limb was endangered. Neither the bishop nor the abbot, whatever the importance of their fiefs, could pronounce in capital cases: this duty devolved on a vicar. We may add, that, in the better days of the system, no suzerain could preside in a case where his own interests or those of his vassal were involved.*

987 *Chivalry* may be regarded as the perfection of the
to feudal state; not so much because it was an order into
1270. which the noble and the brave were solemnly admitted,
as because it necessarily elevated the human character.
It is impossible to fix the precise period when this noble
institution originated: in fact, like the feudal system
itself, that origin was gradual, not the sudden effect of
a revolution in any men or number of men. We find,
however, that, so early as the reign of Philip I., the young
noble was not permitted to carry arms,—to take a place
among his equals,—without certain solemn, inspiring
ceremonies, which signalled his assumption of the
knightly character. The obligations which he then
contracted were founded on religion. Having passed
some time as an esquire to some knight, and learned the

* Ducange, *Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*,
voces *Homagium*, *Baro*, *Castellanus*, &c. Hallam, *History of the Middle
Ages*, vol. i. (*Feudal System.*) *Libri Feudorum*, lib. ii. *passim*.

perfect management of horse and arms, the candidate prepared for the day of his reception. He was first stripped and plunged in a bath,—a symbol of purification. On leaving the water, he was habited in a black jerkin, emblematical of the death which awaits all men ; in a red robe, significant of the blood which he was expected to shed in defence of the faith ; and over all was thrown a white tunic, indicative of inward purity. The twenty-four ensuing hours were passed in a rigorous fast. When evening arrived, he entered some church or oratory, to pass the night in praying and meditation ; at break of day he confessed, received absolution, partook of the holy communion, and assisted at a mass of the Holy Ghost. Generally a sermon followed, of which the burden was the duties he was bound to discharge in the state he was about to assume. He then approached the altar, with a sword hanging from his neck : the priest took it, blessed it, and returned it to its place. While kneeling before the knight from whom he was to receive the honour, he was again told, that if he afterwards abandoned his life to sloth, he would be as unworthy of chivalry as the simoniaeal priest was of the church and of religion. On replying, that he was resolved, with the help of God and our Lady, to perform his knightly duties well, other Knights, sometimes even ladies, approached to array him in his proper garb. One fastened the spurs to his heels ; another put on him a hauberk, or coat of mail ; a third added the cuirass ; a fourth drew on the brassarts and gauntlets ; while hands still more honoured girt a sword about him. The knight—generally a distinguished prince or noble—who was to finish the ceremony now arose, and solemnly gave him the accolade, which generally consisted of three blows with the flat part of the sword on the shoulders, but sometimes of three with the open palm on the cheek, exclaiming, “ In the name of God, St. Michael, and St. George, I dub thee knight ! ” Often this admonition followed :—“ Be true, loyal, and valiant ! ” Among the obligations

which the new knight contracted, and which he swore to observe, some deserve the highest praise, especially at a period when the weak, the aged, the widow, and the orphan had no natural protection. He was enjoined to fear God ; to honour the king ; to defend the widow, the orphan, the oppressed, at all times and in all places ; never to expect human reward for his best actions ; never to use guile, but to be always open ; never to forsake the direct path, while on a journey, through fear of man or beast ; never to shun danger in any enterprise ; to show great respect, and also all manner of service, to the fair, especially those who invoked his protection or aid ; always to fulfil a promise. The active virtues involved in this profession must have been most beneficially exercised at such a period. The knight was not satisfied with defending the battlements which surrounded the household of his lord or friend : if his presence were not required by his superior, he did not wait for occasions to be useful, but went to seek them—in quest of adventures. This mode of life relieved the monotony of rural existence, and was eagerly embraced by the ardent and the bold. The powerful learned to spare the weak : chivalry bound together by the strong tie of honour all the members of the order ; it taught truth, generosity, and elevation of sentiment. It was consecrated by the church ; it was sung by poets ; it was rewarded by the smile of beauty. That women should be regarded with new respect ; that love and poetry should thrive together, and become the greatest charm of life, was to be expected. In fact, from this period the sex assumed an empire which had never before existed,—an empire which religion could not reach—over the minds of the fiercest nobles. It was not uncommon for a knight to expiate even a venial fault by years of penance at the mandate of some proud beauty. At the same period arose the tourneys, or knightly pastimes, in which rewards were distributed by the hands of the fair to the strongest or most dexterous combatants. As the knights, though clad in full armour, fixed their lances

against each other, and met at full gallop from opposite points, the pastime was sometimes dangerous enough: sometimes the force of the mutual onset threw the horses on their haunches; sometimes the strong lances were shivered; but generally, where the assault was so furious, one of the parties fell to the earth, if not wounded, at least stunned by the concussion. Here ladies were invariable spectators from a scaffolding erected round the lists; here each encouraged her knight,—for desolate indeed was she who had none,—by look, gesture, or token, to do his devoir manfully; and here the successful combatant approached his mistress, and knelt for some signal of her approbation or regard.*

When we consider that the king had no jurisdiction within the domains of his feudatories, who were at once supreme military chiefs and judges in the last resort; that his power was acknowledged only in his own barony or province, which was absolutely inferior in extent to the possessions of the counts of Poitou, Toulouse, Provence, or Flanders, we may well term the French nation a confederation of feudal states, of which he was the mere president. This was the undoubted fact during two centuries from the accession of Hugh Capet. His successors were often set at defiance by some proud vassal, whom, with their own unaided means, they could not hope to reduce. But this aristocratic domination was insensibly undermined, and in time wholly destroyed, by two causes,—the communes, and the gradually increasing power of the crown.†

The origin of the French communes may satisfactorily 1051 be referred to the eleventh century. The causes which to called them into existence were of a mixed nature. In 1281, the first place, it is highly probable that in a few of the cities, such as Périgueux, Bourges, Arles, Toulouse,

* Mably, *Observations sur l'Histoire*, tom. iii. sect. 3. Guizot, *Histoire de la Civilisation*, tom. iv. leçon 6. Sismondi, *Histoire des Français*, tom. iv. p. 199. Ducange, *Glossarium*, voc. Miles, &c. Alonso el Sabio, *Las Siete Partidas*, part. ii. tit. 21.

† Guizot, tom. v. leçon 17.

Paris, &c., the municipal government of the Romans had never been wholly destroyed, though it had doubtless been greatly modified to meet times and circumstances. A much more efficient cause, however, is to be found in the rapid increase of local population in the vicinity of the baronial castles. As that population augmented, so would the wants of life ; so, consequently, would the useful arts, manufactures, and commerce. Since no one could have so great an interest in the prosperity of the new town as its feudal superior, since the greater portion of his revenues would be derived from it, so none would be so eager to augment it ; and as that prosperity mainly depended on the number and skill of the inhabitants, he held out peculiar encouragement to settlers from other parts. Originally, the concessions thus made in these local charters were not numerous : they appear to have been first made by the king to the cities included in his own hereditary fief. The example was imitated by the nobles ; but neither, during two centuries at least, conferred on any town a political existence. The charter ceded to them the profits of their industry, subject to certain tolls and taxes, and themselves no less so to the feudal tribunals. The privileges which they enjoyed at a subsequent period,—an exemption from military service, from the ordinary tribunals, and from the never-ceasing feudal pretensions ; liberty to elect their own magistrates, to constitute their own municipal government, and to make alliance of trade or policy with any other city or feudatory,—were slowly and successively wrung, sometimes by purchase, generally by force of arms, from the local superiors. The copious collection of the *Ordonnances des Rois* enables us to trace, in the most satisfactory manner, the origin and progress of such communities as were dependent on the royal jurisdiction. Orleans may serve as an example. There are seven charters relating to that city, granted at various periods from the middle of the eleventh to the end of the thirteenth century. The first, by Henry I. (1051), allows the people free ingress

and egress during the season of vintage, and prohibits the royal officers from taking more wine under the name of entrance dues than is fixed by usage. The second, by Louis the Young (1137), commands the provost and sergeants of Orleans not to oppress the people ; promises that the latter shall not be molested at court, where justice shall promptly be done them, and that the coin shall not be debased. Ten years afterwards the same king abolished the abuse of mortmain, by which the crown inherited the property of serfs and freedmen, in default of direct heirs. The two succeeding charters (1168 and 1178) removed the more obnoxious shackles which still oppressed industry and commerce. The sixth, by Philip Augustus (1183), exempted the people from direct contributions to the royal fisc ; greatly reduced the amount of pecuniary penalties ; and allowed all pleaders to transact their business at the nearest tribunals of Lorris or Etampes, instead of resorting to those of Paris. In 1281 all these concessions were confirmed by Philip the Bold. They were not, however, gratuitous ; for in every case some return was made to the crown for the pretensions it abandoned : the chief was a tax of two deniers on every measure of corn or wine. They give evidence enough of a sincere desire on the part of the French kings to promote the interests of commerce ; but they nowhere so much as hint at municipal institutions. Many other cities were precisely thus favoured ; nor do they appear to have petitioned for more. The Consuetudines Lauriacenses, or Customs of Lorris, a charter granted by Louis the Young, was more liberal than the former, since it abolished the supremacy of the royal cities ; provided that justice should be administered in Lorris itself, and forbade any accused to be imprisoned who could give bail for his appearance. Yet it makes no mention of a municipality : on the contrary, it provides for the due administration of justice by the royal officers. Similar charters were granted by the feudal nobles ; but we may doubt whether in any case they involved the political inde-

pendence of the community, until that independence was won by the people in arms. During the contest both parties often appealed to the king, whom they regarded as the head of the feudal system ; and he sometimes decided for one, sometimes for the other, but generally he effected a compromise between them. Thus, after a war of nineteen years between the bishop and people of Laon, during which the latter had created a municipal government, in 1128 Louis the Fat interfered, and recognised the government, though in other respects he provided for the jurisdiction and revenues of the prelate. By the charter of that monarch, the people were authorised to confederate for the defence of their new privileges : it was usually under the sanction of an oath, that each citizen thus bound himself to fly, at the first summons, to aid in the common defence : hence, their name of *conjurati*, an epithet applied not only to the individuals of the same community, but in a more special measure to several communities, subject to the same feudal superior, which bound themselves by oath to defend each other whenever any one of the number should be assailed. In 1144, Louis the Young confirmed the commerce of Beauvais in a solemn charter, but he subjected it in some respects to the bishop. This led to open insurrection on the part of the inhabitants ; but though they were this time compelled to submit, in 1182 they wrung from Philip an exemption from the episcopal tribunal, and the privilege of settling their own disputes before the mayor, whose office and functions were distinctly recognised by the charter. Disputes, however, perpetually agitated the two parties ; the bishop often disregarded the provisions of the charter ; nor were the people always disposed to confine themselves within the limits prescribed, until 1281, when the commune obtained the right of appeal to the crown, whenever their privileges were invaded by their troublesome prelate. In other cities, the inhabitants were reluctantly allowed to carry arms, to elect their own magistrates, and to combine for the twofold

purpose of self-defence, and of protection in their various callings. At the sound of the great bell every male flew either to arms, or to assist at the public deliberations. But this *levée en masse* did not constitute their only defence : some maintained a regular band of mercenaries, who very often went beyond the legitimate duty, and turned robbers on the highway. To the strength of the fortifications great attention was paid ; for few of these communities were long at peace either with each other or with the neighbouring barons, who began to meditate the revocation of their forced concessions. In fact, the communities, as soon as their independence was secured, were in no hurry to observe the conditions on which the charter had been granted,—to pay the feudal baron either a fixed annual sum, to allow him a share in their harvests, or in certain profits of industry, sometimes even a monopoly of some particular branch. Thus, in most of those instruments we find the people authorised to live under their own institutions, provided they paid a certain duty on every measure of wine, on every article sold at the public fair, on the transit of merchandise, and provided they ground all their corn at the baron's mills. In another, we find that their wine shops could be kept only by his immediate dependants, and for his undivided profit. In addition to these signs of subjection, the enfranchised serfs were generally liable to other exactions, of which some were vexatious enough : a portion of every harvest, a capitation tax, a tax for every apartment in the house, and the money arising from all penal compensations, were the most ordinary. When the interests of the two parties were thus essentially hostile, frequent collisions were inevitable. For the sake of peace, the feudal lords were often disposed to sell, for a certain sum, and successively, the more obnoxious of their pretensions ; but when they found that, instead of dependants, or at least allies, they had open enemies in their vicinity, they were eager to undo their own work. In fact, neither party was much bound by such contracts.

As in every charter some degree of provision was made for the rights of the superior, and as in many the corporations, when emboldened by the consciousness of increased strength, refused to recognise them any longer, contests were perpetual and inevitable. The king's interference was not merely a matter of prerogative, but of necessity. That he should show an insensible disposition to favour the communes, so far as he could without incurring the open hostility of the barons, will not surprise us when we consider how long the crown had been awed by those proud vassals. For such favours the communes always made a return : they not only filled by their presents the royal coffers, but they contributed to elevate the royal jurisdiction, by submitting themselves to every ordonnance, and by openly proclaiming that feudal privileges were inconsistent both with the dignity of the monarch and the rights of the people. It is certain that, as they increased in strength, they used his connivance to reject altogether the jurisdiction of their ancient lords, who thus became almost powerless ; where they could make a stand, they never failed to do so ; and in the hostilities which followed, deeds were committed by both sides that we willingly leave in oblivion. It was only when, through various causes — among the chief must, doubtless, be reckoned the present weakened authority of the barons,—the royal power was consolidated ; when the royal tribunal took undisputed cognisance as well of noble as of plebeian crimes ; when the royal judges held an assize in every town, communal or feudal, that these dissensions ceased. The communes, too, after their full establishment, required as much restraint as the territorial nobles. They were generally at war with each other ; each had always hostile parties within its own bosom. We know that in many of them the laws were continually derided ; that the violence of faction kept the peaceable inhabitants in a state of continued alarm ; that murders, rapes, perjuries, open seditions, were of frequent occurrence : in fact, it was felt and acknowledged

that this wild licence was a thousand times worse than despotism itself. There were the insolence of office ; the envy which success in pursuit of municipal dignities caused to the defeated candidate ; the desire of the new official to humble those who had before been his superiors ; the rivalry of one class of artisans with another, always in fatal operation : generally the darker passions were at play : not unfrequently we read of the poor rising against the rich, and of horrors which no monarchical government ever experienced. At least, in the most favourable combination of circumstances, the local authorities had some difficulty to make themselves obeyed : they were often bearded by a faction ; before a mob they were powerless. To restore, and, what was far more, to preserve tranquillity, they were compelled, if they considered life and substance worth a thought, to invoke foreign aid. They applied sometimes to their suzerain, more frequently to the crown, and, by admitting a force capable of quelling faction, they in reality admitted masters. In some communes the people themselves applied for protection against the magistrates, whose rapacity or tyranny had disgusted them with their free institutions ; and in this case the result was of necessity the same. About the close of the thirteenth century a multitude of communes, in many cases voluntarily, disappear from the scene. A great number were no doubt merged in the royal jurisdiction by the surrender or forfeiture of fiefs to the crown : for though they were no longer subject to the tribunals of their feudal superiors, they were yet bound by certain obligations towards them, and were considered as forming an essential part of the fief. When they fell into the royal power, their municipal institutions were soon abolished, though they were left in possession of their other privileges, especially of their exemption from the feudal exactions. They were, in fact, obnoxious to the crown, partly from their internal turbulence, and partly from the resistance which they offered to the demand of contributions or taxes in any shape. No wonder

that the French kings should seize the first favourable opportunity of abolishing them ; nor do they appear to have met with much opposition in that purpose. But in many cases, as in that of Soissons, the people voluntarily resigned their charters into the hands of the crown, preferring the jurisdiction of the royal officers to that of their own magistrates. Nay, there were some, like Evreux, which took the same step in regard to their own count or duke ; since they had learned to regret even the feudal tribunals during their recent reign of terror. In both cases they improved by the change. Both the crown and the yet remaining feudal suzerains were ready enough to confirm them in the enjoyment of all their recent rights, other than those which regarded a separate municipal government ; they had thus the substantial blessings of whatever liberty belonged to the age, without the alloy of licence : they continued to have masters, indeed — sometimes despotic ones ; but that despotism was less violent, less indiscriminate, less general, and it had one advantage,— that of securing internal tranquillity. As the power of the crown augmented — and it was uniformly progressive — the lingering remains of feudal oppression disappeared, until its authority was equally felt by baron and peasant — until it reduced both to the same level of obedience. We conclude this glance at the existence of the communes by observing, that about the middle of the fourteenth century few remained in what we may properly term France (they subsisted longer in Flanders and Burgundy) : almost all had been persuaded or compelled to abandon their political existence.*

1100 The second great cause by which the feudal system
to was first neutralised, and next subdued, — the increas-
1270.

* Recueil des Ordonnances des Rois, tom. i—xii. (in multis scripturis). Mably, Observations, tom. ii. liv. 3. et 4. Capefigue, Histoire de Philippe-Auguste, tom. i—iv. passim. Siamondi, Histoire des Français, part. iii. chap. 9. Guizot, Histoire, tom. v. leçon 19. To these must be added the contemporary chroniclers, from the eleventh to the close of the thirteenth century.

ing power of the crown, — will require little development, since allusion has been frequently made to the subject in the preceding pages. That power had long no action within the domains of the great feudatories, that is, over nine tenths of France. It is, indeed, true, that, even from Hugh Capet to Louis le Gros, the royal office was not wholly without consideration, since it had not only a primacy of honour, but, in theory at least, a certain jurisdiction over the rest. That this jurisdiction was disregarded, must be attributed rather to the insignificance of the person than to any contempt for the thing. Louis le Gros proved that the dignity might easily be made respectable. When, in 1101, the lord of Montmorency drew the sword against the abbot of St. Denis, he was compelled to desist from hostilities, and to plead his cause in the court of the king: he lost his suit, and was condemned; and though he at first refused to submit to the sentence, the prince marched against him, and retained him prisoner until satisfaction had been made to the abbot. The same summary mode of justice was adopted in regard to two other barons, who laid waste the territories of the church of Rheims and the frontiers of Berri. In fact, the chronicles from Suger downwards began to proclaim the natural authority of the crown over the most powerful vassals. Louis the Young trod in the steps of his predecessors; but in this, as in most other respects, both were greatly surpassed by Philip Augustus. This prince was not satisfied that the superiority of the crown should merely be recognised as of right; he resolved to add the fact. His first object was to extend the domains immediately subject to him; and with this view he turned his eyes towards the English possessions. However unscrupulous in the choice of his means, against the able and valiant Henry II. he was unsuccessful; over the heroic Richard, whom he durst not openly engage, his advantages were insignificant; but with that wretched personification of every weakness and vice, John, he could act as he

pleased. Having more than doubled his immediate dominions by the conquest of Normandy and the English provinces south of that duchy, he gave vigour to the royal authority by a more frequent convocation, and a more systematic regulation, of his parliament or assembly of peers. Such was the influence obtained over that proud body by his immediate predecessors and himself, that he easily procured their assent to his proposals, and their aid to carry those proposals into execution. With no less success did he withstand the pretensions of the holy see, even when filled by the enterprising Innocent III., one of the greatest men of the middle ages. St. Louis, indeed, as we have before observed, surrendered a portion of the conquests wrested from the English; but even he added still to the extent of his immediate dominions and to the power of the crown. By succession, treaty, purchase, or judicial condemnation, he brought under his sceptre several considerable fiefs, among which the duchy of Narbonne, and the lordships of Beziers, Agde, Nimes, Uzes, Chartres, Blois, Maçer, Perche, Arles, Foix, and a part of Toulouse. These accessions rendered him powerful enough to crush, at any moment, the vassal who should rebel against him, or dispute his authority. In fact he met with no opposition from them in the Establishments,—so is termed the code which he drew up,—which he framed with the design of elevating the royal power, of classing and circumscribing that of the feudal barons, and of providing for the general security. He abolished private wars, judicial duels, or judgments of God, and subjected the suzerain no less than the simplest knight, to his own tribunals. He was, indeed, a wise and beneficent legislator, who conferred greater benefits on France than all the kings who preceded or followed him.*

1270 Under *Philip III.*, surnamed le Hardi (1270—1285),
to the eldest son of St. Louis, and *Philip IV.*, surnamed
1328.

* Authorities:—the chroniclers of Aragon, especially the biographer of St. Louis; with Mably, Sionandi, Guizot, and Hallam.

le Bel (1285—1314), son of Philip III., the crown of France continued to increase alike in dignity and power. On the death of Alfonso, uncle of the king, without issue, the latter came into possession of Poitou; and on the death of Jeanne, the consort of Alfonso, into that of Toulouse, one of the most extensive and important acquisitions ever made by the descendants of Hugh Capet. Philip le Hardi, indeed, had the mortification to see our Edward I. succeed to the lordships of Ponthieu and Montreuil, which, with the duchy of Guienne, and their vicinity to Normandy, might justify some degree of alarm. But this disadvantage was counterbalanced by the marriage of Philip le Bel with the heiress of Champagne, Jeanne queen of Navarre: that great fief was not, indeed, formally united with the French crown, but it began to be administered by the French kings, and consequently to lose its separate political existence. There now remained four great fiefs only — Guienne, Bretagne, Burgundy, and Flanders,—which, it was evident, would soon or late be incorporated in the monarchy, since that object, whatever the obstacles intervening, was a favourite one with the now powerful monarchs of France. Guienne, which was obtained by treachery from the governor, the brother of Edward, was for a time enjoyed by Philip. This led to a war between the two princes, in which the court of Flanders was the ally of Edward, and Scotland of Philip. Fortunately for the latter, the English hero was so occupied by the conquest of Scotland, that the French war was of secondary importance. It ended, however, in the restoration of Guienne, on the condition of a marriage between a daughter of Philip and the heir of Edward. But if the French monarch was forced to abandon Guienne, he had the satisfaction of humbling the Flemish, and of making their count prisoner; and the greater one of adding Lyons, which had hitherto depended on the empire, to his hereditary dominions. In his civil policy he was not less remarkable. He had address enough to elevate his own creatures to the throne

of St. Peter, which was transferred from Rome to Avignon ; and proved that they were in his power, by compelling them to sanction almost every thing he wished. His persecution of the Templars, against whom he suborned false witnesses, — witnesses, too, so noted for infamy, that their testimony was legally invalid,— the arts by which he prevailed on his creature Clement V. to condemn them, and their cruel death at the stake, are among the most memorable acts of the middle ages. At this time the Templars were not very popular ; the manners of some were doubtless dissipated, perhaps even their opinions heterodox ; but their riches were their greatest crime. Philip was avaricious in proportion to his utter want of principle and to his malignity of heart : he felt that he had the church in his power ; and he singled out the Templars as his victims, not because they were criminal, but because they were less able to withstand. With equal alacrity would he have assailed the church universal, or Christianity itself, had there existed an equal prospect of success. The knights were suddenly arrested ; crimes were laid to their charge at once puerile and monstrous ; perjured witnesses appeared to substantiate them ; they were tortured so cruelly in their frightful dungeons, that we need not wonder if, to escape from their situation, some of them confessed whatever the tormentors chose to dictate. They would not, however, have been condemned, but for the desire of Clement V. to reward Philip for abandoning a charge of heresy against the memory of Boniface VIII., whom French soldiers had made prisoner at Anagni, and whose death Philip is believed to have hastened. Yet the council of Vienne on the Rhone, which was expressly convoked for the occasion, refused to receive the suspicious testimony, and agreed that the order should be heard in their presence. In this decision concurred all the prelates of Spain, Germany, Denmark, England, Scotland, Ireland, Italy, and nearly all those even of France ; but neither the pope nor Philip, who was also present, were to be thus thwarted. The

former adjourned the session, and before the time of its reunion, he had the baseness, in virtue of his apostolic authority, to abolish, in a secret consistory, that noble and distinguished order. Though the other princes of Europe had taken no part against the body, the opportunity of profiting by its effects was too tempting to be resisted. By the pope, indeed, it was feebly decreed that these effects should pass to the Knights of the Hospital ; but under the form of *reliefs*, the suzerains knew how to turn the rich stream entirely into their own possession. Philip signalised his triumph by sending to the scaffold the flower of the chiefs of the order ; nor was he troubled at the fact that in their last moments they solemnly protested their innocence, and exposed the arts by which they had been condemned. Neither he nor Clement long survived these atrocious proceedings : two years afterwards both died, equally detested by the world and their own domestics. After the summons of this execrable monarch to a tribunal more to be dreaded than his own, the sceptre was successively wielded by three of his sons. *Louis X.*, surnamed Hutin, inherited, in right of his mother, Champagne and Brie, together with the crown of Navarre. On his death in 1316, leaving one daughter only and a pregnant queen, the regency, to the prejudice of the queen, was seized by *Philip le Long*. In time she was delivered of a son, but as the infant soon died, and as by the Salic law* females were considered incapable of inheriting the crown of the Franks, Philip, as the next brother of the deceased Louis, succeeded.

* In this country, owing no doubt to the subsequent wars of our Edward III., attempts have been made to prove that no such law existed. They have failed. So constantly had the presumed sense of the law been acted on, that not an instance could be adduced since the foundation of the monarchy by Clovis, of a female succeeding to the sceptre. The reason why the principle had never been contested was, because there had always been direct male issue, at least from the Carlovingian times.

"*De terra vero salica, in mulierem nulla portio hereditatis transit, sed hoc virilis sexus acquirit, hoc est, filii in ipsa hereditate succedunt.*"—*Lex Salica*, tit. 62. 1.6.

It is useless to contend that this prohibition is confined to the Salic lands only, not to the royal dignity ; for the fact undoubtedly is, that when the law was promulgated, these lands were inseparable from the crown, and from the possessions of the royal males.

But if reputed law and custom thus concurred in his claim, that law was not very clear in its language ; and there can be no doubt that public opinion was not unfavourable to the abstract claims of the young princess. But there is little wisdom any where in confiding the destinies of a nation to a woman ; and this conviction induced the people to witness without dissatisfaction the coronation of Philip V. Her uncle, indeed, the duke of Burgundy, and also Charles de la Marche, the brother of Philip, condemned what they called an usurpation ; but from their subsequent conduct we may safely infer that they did so either from envy of his success, or from a wish to obtain terms from him. In fact, as Philip had daughters only, Charles, the next heir male, was too much interested in this interpretation of the law to oppose it ; the duke of Burgundy accepted a pension and was silent. There was one prince, indeed, who might have resisted him, and who had an interest in the succession of females — Edward II. of England, the husband of Isabella, daughter of Philip le Bel, and consequently his own brother-in-law ; but Edward was too cowardly, too imbecile, and, if he had not been so, too much occupied with Robert Bruce, to declare for the princess Jeanne. On the death of Philip, *Charles*, surnamed *le Bel*, the fourth prince of that name, succeeded, to the exclusion of Philip's daughters ; and Edward found that his forbearance in regard to the succession of females, that his desire to sacrifice every thing to please his brother-in-law, had availed him little. Continual usurpations were made by Charles in the duchy of Guienne ; many feudatories were summoned, on frivolous pretexts, before his tribunal, and were condemned to lose their fiefs, which were immediately seized by their officers. In 1328, Charles himself paid the debt of nature, leaving a daughter and a pregnant queen, who was in due time delivered of a second daughter. According to the rule of succession so recently sanctioned by the French states, Philip count de Valois, nephew of Philip le

Bel, and grandson of Philip le Hardi, was now the heir, and he was proclaimed by the barons of France. But this claim was resisted by Edward III. of England, who had just succeeded his imbecile father, and who soon showed that he would be a terrible competitor. Yet Edward had himself no well-founded claim to advance. If females were legally eligible, Jeanne, the daughter of Louis Hutin, *not* Isabelle, his sister, was the true heiress. Edward contended that if females themselves were excluded, they might yet transmit a right to their male offspring: hence *his* right through Isabelle his mother. But even in this case, the male issue of Jeanne — and by her marriage with Philip of Evreux she had soon a son, subsequently king of Navarre — was nearer to the succession than that of the English queen. In every view, therefore, the pretensions of Edward were baseless, and on him must for ever lie the responsibility of the following war — a war which, with some intermissions, and only one pacification, raged during 120 years.*

Philip VI. (1328—1350) was not long suffered to enjoy his election unmolested. At first, indeed, Edward, ^{to} _{1498.} who had sufficient occupation at home, so far from openly entering the lists against him, did honour to him for Guienne; perhaps hostilities might always have been averted, had he not underhand assisted the Scots. For some time the English monarch smothered his resentment; but no sooner was peace made with the northern kingdom, than he commenced one of the most memorable struggles in all history, — one which to detail would require more volumes than this compendium. Fortunately they have been detailed by a contemporary, one of the most pleasing and graphic writers who ever caught the mantle of Herodotus — the imitable Froissart. After many years of a war in which the highest chivalry was exhibited, but which was

* *Gulielmus de Nangiaco, Gesta Philippi Audacis*, p. 516—548. *Froissart, Chronique*, liv. i. *Continuatio Gul. Nang. in Dacherii Spicilegio*, tom. iii. *Sismondi, Histoire des Français*, tom. viii. et ix.

desultory and indecisive, the victory of Crecy (1346), won by the English hero in person, against an enemy amazingly his superior, will be lasting as time itself: it was followed by the siege and conquest of Calais. The reign of *John*, the son and successor of Philip (1350—1364), was much more disastrous. Though he fought manfully at Poitiers against the heroic Black Prince, he was not only vanquished, but made prisoner; in captivity, too, he passed the greater part of his remaining days, through the resolution of his states not to ratify the conditions to which he subscribed — a partition of the kingdom. France, indeed, had need of his presence, though his place was not ill supplied by his son, the dauphin Philip. The abilities of both, however, could scarcely have averted the horrors which signalled this period. As if a foreign enemy were not enough, the corporations of Paris and other towns who sent deputies to the states, broke out into rebellion, under the pretext of seeking redress. That they had grievances enough to be redressed is undeniable, but they might surely have deferred their rebellion until the restoration of peace with England. The horrors perpetrated at this season were aggravated by Charles the Bad, king of Navarre, who as a feudatory of the Valois for the lordship of Evreux, and as a prince of the blood (his mother was Jeanne, daughter of Louis Hutin, and he had married a daughter of the reigning prince), was generally in France.* Having joined his arms to those of the citizens of Paris, whose acknowledged leader for a time he was, he became truly formidable. Plague and famine did their work; but neither, nor the destroying sword, nor anarchy,—for the peasants were against their lords, every where triumphant,—could teach moderation to hostile parties. In 1360, another treaty was made by Edward and the captive John, who, in consequence of his surrendering to the English, Poitou, Gascony, Xaintonge, the Limousin,

* See the reign and character of Charles the Bad in the History of Spain and Portugal, vol. iii. (NAVARRE.)

Angoumois, and Ponthieu, in addition to Guienne and Calais, and promising to pay a heavy ransom, was at length suffered to revisit France. The treaty, in fact, as to the surrender of these provinces, in return for Edward's renunciation of the French crown, had been previously agreed upon between the ambassadors of both countries at Bretigny, and John had only to ratify it : at the time of ratification, peace was also made with the king of Navarre. The new, or rather restored, possessions — for under Henry II. most of them had belonged to England — were again erected into the great duchy of Aquitaine, the investiture of which, without any feudal dependence on the French crown, was conferred on the Black Prince, who thus became the vassal of his father. John found his kingdom in a deplorable state — wasted by pestilence, famine, and the sword ; but he laboured with some success to repair its disasters. One of his best acts was to unite Burgundy and Champagne ; one of his worst was to invest Philip, his fourth son, with the fief of the former province. After his father's death, Philip married Margaret, heiress of the rich fief of Flanders, and by so doing laid the foundation of their union. The year before his death he returned into England, where he had always been treated with the highest respect by the most chivalrous of the Plantagenets. The motives of this second visit have been disputed : there can, however, be no question that the chief one was a high sentiment of honour. He had given hostages for the payment, at stated periods, of his ransom : among these was one of his sons, the duke d'Anjou, who, being allowed to revisit his father's court, under the obligation of an oath to return, was in no hurry to fulfil it. This circumstance, the fact that the instalments of his ransom were not duly paid, and, no doubt, other reasons, determined John to revisit London, where he was munificently entertained, but where he died soon after his arrival. His eldest son and successor, *Charles V.* (1364—1380), violated the peace of Bretigny, and the

war was renewed. But he forbore to do so until the English king was advanced in years, and until sickness had brought the heroic Black Prince, whose last great exploit had been to replace Don Pedro on the throne of Castile, to the brink of the grave.* This resumption of hostilities — a flagrant instance of bad faith on the part of Charles — caused Edward also to resume the title of king of France. Under the circumstances we have mentioned, —when one hero was enfeebled by age, the other by disease—no wonder that the arms of Charles should triumph. Poitou, Xaintonge, Angoumois, and a part of Gascony, were re-united with his monarchy. The English would, in fact, have been entirely expelled from the kingdom, but for the insurrections of the great towns in several provinces, — insurrections caused by the determination of the people to obtain a share—indeed, we may say, the *chief* share—of the administration: some openly declared that they would no longer be governed by a monarch; that they would not rest until they had established republican institutions. To repress these disturbances, and to punish not merely the popular ringleaders, but the population itself, required all the vigour of the king. The reign of *Charles VI.* (1380—1422) was not less eventful. As it commenced in his thirteenth year, the government was exercised by the king's uncles, of whom the most celebrated was the duke of Burgundy. Its most noted characteristic was the ever-increasing hostility between the people and their feudal governors. Thus, in Flanders, the inhabitants of Ghent, under Philip van Artaveldt, were long at open war with their count, Louis II., whose daughter was the consort of the duke of Burgundy. As these possessions were one day to be his own, the duke was induced to maintain the authority of his father-in-law; and he moved a French army into the province: the republican citizens of the great towns were defeated and chastised. A severe fate awaited those of Paris, who

* See History of Spain and Portugal, vol. ii. (Reign of Pedro the Cruel.)

during the absence of the young king had risen in the same cause : many perished on the scaffold ; more were condemned to the loss of their possessions ; the municipal government was abolished. The same excessive punishment was extended to Rouen and other cities, those especially of Languedoc. In 1388, Charles dismissed his uncles, whose rapacity was odious to France, and assumed the sole direction of government. In a few years, however, he exhibited signs of insanity so evident, that the duke of Burgundy, who had succeeded to the lordship of Flanders, resumed the administration. Some lucid intervals he subsequently had, and at those seasons he was restored to his functions ; but the intellectual restoration was always short : he relapsed into his raving, often so furious as to require coercion ; and the kingdom again became the prey of his uncle's rapacity. On the death of the duke of Burgundy, the government was sometimes exercised by his son, who, having murdered another prince of the blood, the duke d'Orleans, was some years in a state of actual warfare with all the princes of the family, and with the crown itself. During these civil contests, former horrors were renewed, of which advantage was sure to be taken by the English. While the duke of Burgundy, the count d'Armagnac, and others, were contending for the possession of an imbecile king and the young dauphin, Henry V. invaded Normandy, where he made several conquests. In 1415 he won the great battle of Agincourt, against an enemy three times his superior in numbers. In 1418, he invested its capital, Rouen. Though this alarming intelligence made the parties suspend their hostilities, it could not suspend their animosities, nor avert the fate of that important city, which the year following fell into the hands of Henry. The assassination of the duke of Burgundy, by order of the dauphin, was moré fatal to France than even the successes of Henry, since it impelled Philip, the new duke, to join with the English, in order to revenge his father's death. He promised

to Henry the French crown ; and, in the treaty of Troyes (1420), the queen herself agreed that Henry should marry Catherine, the daughter of Charles ; that he should, at the same time, assume the regency ; and, on the death of Charles, should succeed to the crown, to the exclusion alike of the dauphin and of the other male princes of the family. This ignominious treaty was the result of shameful contentions among the nobles, whose first duty it was to meet the enemy, whom they now found it impossible to expel. During two years Henry governed the north of France with absolute authority : after his death, and that of Charles (1422),—events which happened within a few weeks of each other,—his infant son, Henry VI., was proclaimed, under the regency of the duke of Bedford. At the same time, however, the southern and central provinces declared for *Charles VII.* (1422—1461). This collision of claims was of necessity followed by a war between the two parties : it was long unfavourable to Charles, whose apathy seemed to increase with the desperation of his affairs. Fortress after fortress, city after city, was wrested from him ; and, in 1428, siege was laid to Orleans, the reduction of which would have constrained that of all the central provinces. The affairs of the legitimate king were hopeless, when they were retrieved by the most marvellous means which history, however fruitful in wonders, has to record. An obscure girl broke for ever the English power in France. This was the celebrated Joan of Arc, the Maid of Orleans, who, by pretending to a heavenly mission for the delivery of France, infused into her countrymen so much ardour, into the enemy so much apprehension, that the tide of fortune rapidly turned : Charles was every where victorious, the English every where dispirited. Though they took Joan prisoner, and, instead of honouring her as a patriotic heroine, put her to death as a witch, the barbarity did them no service : the spirit which she had invoked remained ; the duke of Burgundy at length deserted his allies, and returned to his duty. Even yet

the invaders might have honourably withdrawn from the contest: in a conference held at Arras, they were offered Normandy and Guienne as the condition of renouncing the French crown for Henry VI.; but they had the madness to refuse it. They appear, in fact, to have entertained the notion, that, as Joan, the devil's ally, was no more, their arms must ultimately triumph. How their infatuated hopes were deceived was soon proved by the event: in a few years, not a wreck of the conquests made by our Henries and Edwards remained, except Calais and an insignificant territory adjoining it. All France, except Burgundy and Britany, now formed a compact kingdom; and the royal authority increased in the same ratio as the territory. *Louis XI.* (1461—1483), the successor of Charles, put the finishing hand to the royal power and to that of the kingdom. Having wrested from the princes of the blood the provinces they possessed by way of appanage, this politic, ambitious, and unscrupulous monarch turned his arms against Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy. If no great success attended them, he had the satisfaction of learning that Charles fell in a battle against another enemy, leaving a daughter heiress to that important duchy and to Flanders. But Louis contended that, though Flanders might be inherited by a female, Burgundy, Franche-Comté, and Artois could not; that, as the male line was extinct, they reverted to the crown: these three he accordingly invaded, and reunited them with France. The same fate would probably have awaited Flanders, had not Mary of Burgundy conferred her hand on Maximilian of Austria, son of the emperor Frederic. This event laid the foundation of wars for centuries,—of continued struggles between the empire and France for the possession of the Low Countries. Philip, the issue of this marriage, received the hand of Joanna of Castile: their son, the emperor Charles V., commenced the terrific struggle with Francis, the consequences of which continued to agitate Europe down to our own times. But if Flanders was thus lost,

Louis might well congratulate himself on the augmentation of his domains. Burgundy was not his only acquisition: on the death of René d'Anjou, king of Naples and Provence, he obtained, by intrigues and money, the latter province, which he incorporated with the crown. All France, except Britany, was now under the sceptre of the house of Valois. In a few years *Charles VIII.* (1483—1498) forced the heiress of that duchy to receive his hand; and it was consequently united with the monarchy. For the first time since the sway of the Carlovingians, the whole kingdom acknowledged one immediate sovereign. The consummation of this great policy was thus reserved for the house of Valois, the princes of which, whatever their vices or feebleness, have everlasting claims on the gratitude of France.*

In the full two centuries at which we have glanced, the most prominent feature is, beyond doubt, the rapidly increasing power of the crown: of this fact we have abundant proof in the ample collection of the "Ordonnances de Louvre." They are not only much more numerous—a proof that royalty was become a more active principle in the constitution, but they are evidently the emanations of a power taught confidence by its universal recognition, and aware that its mandates will be obeyed. Some of them contain imperative injunctions to the dukes of Britany, Burgundy, and other great feudatories, on matters not merely relating to the general feudal confederation, but to their internal ad-

* The preceding paragraph, as may readily be supposed, is founded on authorities too numerous to be cited or even named. The chief are Froissart, Monstrelet, and Philip de Comines, which are worth all the rest. All may be found in the admirable "Collection des Chroniques Nationales Françaises," by Buchon, 48 vols. 8vo, and in the no less useful "Collection des Mémoires relatifs à l'Histoire de France," in 52 vols. 8vo, by Petitot and Monmerqué. Such collections do as much honour to France as they ought to shame England. We have, indeed, been deceived for a time by the promise of the Scriptores Rerum Anglicarum from the Record Commission; but we shall never see such a collection, unless—what is not very probable—some private individual attempts that which officially appointed men are at once too incompetent and too indifferent to perform. Every thing in this country, from the nomination of a prime minister to that of a parish beadle, is under the same influence of corruption, and, in nine cases out of ten, the nomine is unequal to the trust. Let us hope that the nation may soon open its eyes to its dishonour, and leave neither to kings, nor the ministers of kings, either its literary or its ecclesiastical interests.

ministration. Thus, in one of 1298, Philip le Bel orders the latter duke not to permit, in his state, the circulation of any other coin than that of France; in another, he regulates the privilege and manner of appeal from the tribunals of Britany to his own. In these acts we no longer read of the great privileges possessed by the feudatories of a former age,—no coining of money, no right of private war, no exemption from the public burdens or from legislative control, no separate judicial independence. The "Establishments" or laws of St. Louis, indeed, are sometimes at variance with these "Ordonnances;" they recognise, though in a circumscribed degree, the rights of the barons: thus, that monarch declares that no new law can be introduced into the jurisdiction of a baron without that baron's consent. But we must remember that these Establishments were obligatory only under the reign of St. Louis himself; that his immediate successors shook off the remaining shackles of feudalism. It is remarkable that, from the time of Philip le Bel, decrees are generally promulgated by the royal authority alone, without the hitherto invariable formula, "with the consent of our prelates and barons." This fact alone speaks volumes as to the extent of that authority. In the reign of his predecessor, Philip the Bold, the lawyers had agreed that a general edict was binding, even if issued without a council, since it ought to be regarded as "made with good advice," and intended for the public benefit. "The king," they added, "is supreme sovereign, and has a right to make what decrees he pleases for the common good; or to summon into his court any baron, however powerful." In fact, the cours plénières of the French kings were, in most cases, superseded by the parliament of Paris, a royal court, consisting chiefly of lawyers and counsellors; which must not be confounded with the states of the kingdom. It was found that an aristocratic tribunal could not be formed with sufficient despatch, nor left together sufficiently long, for the perpetually increasing

appeals from all parts of the kingdom : perhaps, too, such a tribunal was less manageable than suited the royal will. A court where well-paid lawyers and ecclesiastics should preponderate, who had every thing to expect from the crown, who should be eligible and removable by it, would necessarily be more obsequious. Towards the close of the fifteenth century, indeed, the members were declared irremovable, except for legal forfeiture ; but the effects of this change were not very conspicuous, nor, if they were, would they fall within the scope of this compendium. We may observe, that at no period does the parliament appear to have been more than a mere court for the registration of royal edicts,—doubtless, however, with the privilege of objecting to any particular edict, though it was one rarely exercised.—Next to this widely extended power of the crown, the most prominent character of French economy was the admission of the third estate into the general assemblies of the kingdom. It is singular enough that this estate should acquire a political existence when the communes were fast falling into decay. The burgesses appear to have been convoked for the first time in 1302, by Philip le Bel ; to that year, therefore, must be attributed the origin of the states-general, consisting of the three orders—nobles, churchmen, and burgesses. Probably the admission of deputies from certain towns into a great deliberative assembly was intended to soothe the irritation of some which had lost their municipal privileges. But there was, doubtless, another and stronger motive for this extraordinary innovation in the constitution. Philip had need of more money than could or would be furnished by his barons and prelates : many of the cities were enriched by commerce ; the wealth thus called into existence he wished to render available to the necessities of the state ; and, as he could not arbitrarily seize on it, he resolved to convoke them, through their representatives, who should voluntarily vote him a participation in their prosperity. In fact, the landed proprietors, fond of supporting great state, of displaying

at once hospitality and pomp, have seldom had much coin at command. On the contrary, the wealth of the towns consisted chiefly in money, which the deputies were generally willing to tax towards the necessities of the country. A third reason for their convocation is no less obvious ;— to counterbalance the influence of the barons and prelates. The vote of a burgess was equal to that of the feudatory: he understood how interested he was in accelerating the decline of a system which for ages he had regarded with dislike ; and he seldom failed to take part with the crown whenever there was any opposition between the two superior orders. Deprived of their territorial independence, of their ancient feudal rights of sovereignty ; forced, first, to admit an appellant jurisdiction in the crown ; next, to see trials, even in the first instance, transferred to the royal tribunals ; and, lastly, to have their power, even in the general assemblies, where they had hitherto swayed the monarch, divided with that of their former dependants, nay, neutralised by it, the nobles were, indeed, “ fallen from their high estate.” Humanity, however, must lament that, while tyranny was successfully destroyed in one quarter, no means were taken to resist it in another. The power of the crown was evidently verging towards despotism ; yet, if we except some occasional remonstrances, not against the general principle, but particular applications—remonstrances, we may add, feeble and transient — no effort was made to arrest its progress. During the wars, indeed, when a foreign enemy was threatening the capital itself, and when one class of society rose in arms against another, we read of loud complaints by the deputies as to the manner in which the supplies had been squandered. In the midst of the fourteenth century the states-general 1357. went farther ; they insisted that the collection, no less than the appropriation, of the supplies should rest with officers nominated by and accountable to themselves ; that they should be allowed to assemble twice a year without convocation by the king ; that, during their

recess, there should be a permanent commission of thirty-six members (twelve from each order), to share with the crown the executive government of the country. This was, in other words, to demand that the monarchy should be superseded by a republic — a republic, too, without a president, where the executive is exercised by a board, not by an individual. We need not wonder that such unreasonable demands, which were made when John was in the power of the Black Prince, should indispose the crown to such even as were just. Hence the dauphin gave way ; the commission was created ; and it soon showed that even the ample powers with which it was invested were far from satisfying its ambition. That it openly aspired to the undivided exercise of the executive no less than the legislative authority, is acknowledged by writers of all parties,—by Sismondi no less than by Daniel. If the dauphin was unable to dissolve this now formidable combination, he had soon the satisfaction of seeing it enfeebled by its own dissensions. The nobles were offended at the resolution of the burgesses not to confine themselves to the finances only, but to interfere in the highest affairs ; the latter detested the haughtiness of the former ; the ecclesiastical members detested both, because they showed little regard for the immunities and privileges of the clergy ; the nation reprobated all, since there was nowhere security for property or life, no efforts made to contend with the public enemy, or to secure the public tranquillity. There was, in reality, nothing but faction any where,—a desire to raise one party at the expense of another. No wonder that the more influential and even the more numerous class of the people should join with the prince to resist the new pretensions of the states-general, and that he should triumph. By this unfortunate collision between the crown and the democracy, the influence of the former was considerably extended : taxes were levied without the consent of the states ; the coin was debased ; remonstrance was generally disregarded, or if, through the pressure of extraordinary circumstances, received,

the next opportunity of resuming an obnoxious measure was not neglected. As the states-general had sometimes exhibited so refractory a spirit, they were seldom convoked by the voluntary act of the crown. The *provincial* states, which also consisted of three orders, and which generally assembled once a year, were more tractable: singly, they were less able to resist any demand of the monarch; their deliberations were less violent, their decisions more prompt. From them he generally received a sum which, added to the revenues arising from the royal domains, from judicial fines, and from certain commercial sources, sufficed for the ordinary expenses of government. During the reign of Louis XI. the states-general were only twice convoked, and on neither occasion were they required to occupy themselves with financial concerns. That France was never the country of liberty, is evident from the whole tenour of its history. At first, the nobles, the clergy, and the crown were the only orders which possessed the least pretension to the name. When the communities were established, many continued to be dependent, either judicially or fiscally, on the feudal superior; but, even if they had possessed all the rights to which they aspired, they formed a small part of the population. The country was essentially agricultural; the peasantry had, consequently, the numerical preponderance, yet they were considered unworthy of a political existence: they were dependent on the will of their lords, too ignorant to appeal from his tyranny, or convinced that such appeals would never obtain redress. In fact, divided as were the nobles and the burgesses in every other respect, they marvellously agreed in securing the bondage of that unhappy class. It was only when the peasants rose as one man to take vengeance into their own hands, that they were regarded as beings who had any claim to civil rights. Unhappily, on these occasions they were guided by no principle of prudence or justice; their object was indiscriminate plunder or bloodshed; their excesses necessarily armed against them

the other orders of society, and perpetuated their civil thralldom.*

888 III. GERMANY.—On the election of *Arnulf* (888—
to 899), who, as we have before observed, was an illegitimate scion of the Carlovingian family, the great
911. feudatories of the empire were the dukes of Saxony,
Thuringia, Lorraine, Swabia, and Bavaria, besides numerous counts and lords of the marches. Dependent on it, also, were not only the kings of Burgundy and Provence, but even that of Moravia, a prince who, like his subjects, was of Slavonic descent and language. Hence the empire was almost as extensive in the ninth century as at any subsequent period. If the eastern frontier, Moravia and Silesia, were occupied by a different people, and if several tribes were virtually independent, its extension into France must be admitted nearly to counterbalance that disadvantage. Of those tribes, by far the most formidable was that of the Obo

* Mably, *Observations sur l'Histoire de France*, tom. iii. et iv. Recueil des Ordonnances, tom. i.—xii. *passim*. Guisot, *Histoire de la Civilisation Française*, tom. v. Sismondi, *Histoire des Français*, tom. viii.—xv. Hallam, *History of the Middle Ages*, vol. i. To these must be added the *Chronique de St. Denis*, *Froissart*, *Monstrelet*, *Philip de Comines*, and other contemporary chroniclers.

his reign was not without glory: he was the first Christian prince that triumphed over the Scandinavian pirates; a people who, under the denomination of Northmen, or Normans, were laying waste the maritime regions of western Europe and the interior of France. Like his Carlovingian predecessors, he received the imperial crown from the hands of the pope: but his connection with Italy was unfortunate; for though he was acknowledged by a portion of Lombardy, he lost both blood and treasure in acquiring a vain honour. As his son, *Louis IV.* (900—911) was only seven years of age on his accession, troubles at such a period were inevitable. That the great feudatories were resolved to own no more than a nominal dependence on the emperor, appears from the desperate civil war between Adalbert count of Bamberg, and Rudolf bishop of Würzburg. Adalbert was cited to appear before the imperial court, which consisted of Arnulf, his great officers, the barons and bishops of the empire. When this proud vassal disobeyed the citation, the diet of Tribut condemned him, and ordered the troops of the states to march against him. In the end he was defeated, captured, and beheaded. A greater scourge was the ravages of the Huns, whom Arnulf had so injudiciously placed on the frontiers. One year they ravaged Bavaria, the second Thuringia and Saxony; in 909, Swabia; the year following, Franconia; and in each of these years they defeated the German troops; nor did they return to their own country until they had collected spoil sufficient to satisfy their avarice.*

On the death of Louis IV., the last of the Carlovingian line, without issue, the German states met to elect a successor. They consisted of the nobles, prelates, and royal functionaries, from Lorraine, Franconia, Swabia,

911
to
1024.

* Witikind, Saxonica, lib. i. Regino Monachus Prumiensis, Annales, lib. ii. p. 87—100 Hermannus Contractus, Chronicon, p. 248—253. Lambertus Schaffhaburgensis, De Rebus Gestis Germanorum, p. 313. Sigebertus Gemblacensis, Chronographia, p. 801—807. Sifredus Misnensis, Epitome, lib. i. p. 1031. Anonymus, Chronicon Vetus, p. 12. Pfeffel, Histoire d'Allemagne, tom. i. (sub annis). Schmidt, Histoire des Allemans, tom. ii. chap. 6.

Bavaria, and Saxony, all which, except Franconia, had their separate dukes. But all might politically be classed under two great heads, the Franks and the Saxons. The former, consisting of Bavaria, under duke Arnulf; of Swabia, under duke Burkard; of Franconia and Rhenish France, under Conrad, formed a sort of national confederation, of which the acknowledged chief was Conrad, the last-named sovereign. The latter, comprising the incorporated Thuringians and Saxons, were under Otho the Great, duke of the two provinces. From the confirmed jealousy of these people, it was feared that they would not agree in the choice of a chief; but such was the extraordinary merit of duke Otho, that the Franks, no less than his own subjects, concurred in regarding him as the most worthy of the high honour. Otho, however, who appears to have fully deserved his epithet of Great, declined the dignity, and prevailed on his own people to join in electing a Frank, the duke Conrad. With *Conrad I.* (911—919) commences the series of Saxon emperors, who, during more than a century, were the temporal lords of Christendom. But Lorraine appears to have disliked the new monarch; it refused to make part of the Germanic confederation, and joined itself with France: it was invaded by Conrad, who detached from it Alsace and Utrecht. His reign was not tranquil: his attempt to increase the prerogatives of the crown led to the revolt of some vassals, who were not crushed without bloodshed. Of these troubles advantage was taken by the Huns, who extended their ravages to the Rhine. In opposing them, Conrad received his mortal wound. Though he had a brother, he preferred the claims of Henry duke of Saxony, son of Otho; doubtless with the view of averting a disputed succession. *Henry I.* (919—936) surnamed the Fowler, restored Lorraine to the empire, and he hoped to perpetuate the union by bestowing on duke Gisela the hand of his daughter. To repel the invasions of his formidable enemies, he pardoned the

banditti, and prevailed on his feudatories to improve the discipline of their forces. His conquest of Misnia, which from that time became a German margraviate, and of Bohemia, whose king, Wenceslas, he forced again to acknowledge the supremacy of the empire, prove that his efforts were not in vain. With equal success did he triumph over some Slavonic tribes, founding amidst his conquests two new margraviates, Brandenburg and Alsace; and over the Danes, from whom he wrested the country between the Eyder and the Slie. The Huns, too, were made to submit, and to see Austria erected into a margraviate, to keep them in check. These successes, superior to any which had been gained since the time of Charlemagne, were the fruit of his military policy. He formed a permanent militia from the eldest sons of each family, the expense of the equipment being sustained by the common heritage: and he so exercised them, that he has unanimously been considered the inventor of tourneys. Finally, he surrounded with walls most of the villages,—an invention which, however necessary for the defence of the country, was not agreeable to the military order. The Germans always detested towns; doubtless, because individual liberty must there be circumscribed by social government: nor, for a full generation, were the warriors willing to inhabit the new cities, notwithstanding the privileges which the monarch conferred on them. *Otho I.* (936—973), son and successor of Henry, had also great trouble with his haughty vassals, whom arms only could reduce to obedience. Thus, Everhard, on the death of his father Arnulf, refused to do him homage for the duchy of Bavaria; a refusal which so incensed Otho, that he deposed the new duke, and conferred the vacant fief on his own uncle. Two of his brothers next revolted: the one was easily defeated; the other, excited by Henry duke of Saxony—for Otho, like his predecessors, on accepting the imperial dignity, had been forced to resign his hereditary state,—who entered into an al-

liance with France, was not quelled without a general battle. Like his father, he vanquished the Danes, and over-ran Jutland ; nor would he consent to make peace with Harold until that king embraced Christianity, and consented to hold South Jutland as a fief of the empire. The king of Bohemia, who had revolted, was forced to pay an annual tribute, as well as to confess himself a vassal of Otho. But the emperor's greatest mortification was the rebellion of his own son, Ludolf duke of Swabia, and of his son-in-law, Conrad duke of Lorraine, who called in the Huns to their assistance. But they were vanquished ; their fiefs were forfeited ; and their allies forced to retreat. His expedition into Italy has been already noticed.* On his coronation at Rome, in 964, Leo VIII. ceded to him the right of influencing papal elections, and of investing with cross and ring the archbishops and bishops of his realm, without the intervention of Rome. In return, he conferred on those dignitaries whole provinces as fiefs, with a jurisdiction equal to that of secular princes. *Otho II.* (973—983), who had been elected king of Germany, and even crowned emperor some years before his father's death, did little to deserve the dignity : against the king of France, who endeavoured to regain Lorraine, his arms were but partially successful, and by the Saracens of Calabria he was totally defeated. His want of vigour encouraged the Bohemians and other Slavonic tribes to revolt, while the Danes laid waste Holstein. In these unhappy circumstances he died, leaving an infant son, who was proclaimed as *Otho III.* (983—1002). Of this prince, who perished in Italy in the prime of life, we hear little. That under him the Prussians and Hungarians were converted ; that, in a pilgrimage to the shrine of his martyred friend, St. Adalbert, he founded the archbishopric of Gnesna ; that he conferred the royal title on Boleslas duke of

* Vol. I. p. 26. For an account of the transactions of the emperors in Italy, the reader may consult the corresponding period in the History of Lombardy, and in that of the popes.

Poland, who did homage for that country ; and that he frequently interfered to restore tranquillity at Rome, comprise the sum of his actions. *Henry II.*, a prince of the same house, who has been canonised, next obtained the suffrages of the diet. Perhaps the chief reason of his canonisation was his refusal to assume any other title than *the king of the Romans* until the imperial crown was placed on his head by the pope. Yet he had both virtues and talents ; he triumphed over the Poles, and over the turbulent Italians. In his reign the duchy of Savoy was called into existence. Its first sovereign was a prince of the same house of Saxony, named Berold.*

Under the dynasty of Saxony, the Germanic empire 888
acquired both extent and strength. The margraves of 1024.
Slesvie, Brandenburg, Lusatia, Misnia, and Austria to
were called into existence ; Lombardy, with the duchies
of Tuscany, Rome, Beneventum, Provence, Burgundy,
and Lorraine were made to acknowledge the emperors ;
Holstein, though governed by the Danish monarch, was
also a fief. In regard to its political constitution, some
changes were effected by them. Of the *missi dominici*,
or royal judges, whose duty it was to watch over the
administration of justice by the feudal tribunals, we no
longer read ; but we find, from the time of Otho, that
the same duty was performed by another class of func-
tionaries, with higher dignity ; perhaps, too, with in-
creased power, — the counts-palatine. It was, indeed,
manifest, that, if such princely vassals as the dukes of
Swabia, Saxony, Bavaria, with whom rested the high
and low jurisdiction, the *imperium merum et mixtum*,
were not checked by some controlling power, there could
be no guarantee for social rights. By Otho a count-pala-

* Cosma Pragensis, *Chronica Boiemorum*, lib. i. p. 15—22. Adamus Bremensis, *Historia Ecclesiastica* (variis capitulis). Anonymus, *Historia Archiepiscop. Bremen.* p. 81, &c. Helmoldius, *Chronica Salonica*, cap. v—xii. Regino Monachus, *Chronicorum*, p. 101—112. Hermannus Contractus, *Chronicon*, p. 256—274. Lambertus Schaffnab. *De Rebus Germ.* p. 313—317. Sigebertus Gemblacensis, *Chronographia*, p. 807—830. Sifredus Misnensis, *Epitome*, lib. i. p. 1032—1035. Pfeffel, *Histoire*, tom. i. (sub annis). Schmidt, *Histoire*, tom. ii. liv. 4.

tine was placed in each of these duchies and in that of Lorraine : the office was rendered hereditary in certain families. His jurisdiction was sufficiently extensive. He was the judge of all the privileged persons, — of such as were exempted from the ordinary tribunals of the dukes and counts. He was the lieutenant of those feudatories, in whose absence he presided over the *placita provinciae*. He was the supreme judge in all cases appertaining to the royal tribunals. He had the superintendence of the royal domains in his own jurisdiction. We have alluded to the heritability of the great fiefs ; yet, though this was unquestionably the rule, there were exceptions from it. On the death of a vassal, we find in some instances that his possessions were seized by the crown, and conferred on a noble of some other family. And there is another apparent contradiction in the system. On the forfeiture of a direct fief, or in default of issue, the crown was certainly competent to confer it on some vassal ; yet we sometimes read that a feudatory was elected by the provincial states, which thus appointed their own ruler. But even in this case the emperor had doubtless a veto ; he might have withheld the investiture, of which the symbol was the delivery of a banner. This subject, however, is not very clear ; and we need not wonder that writers, according as they are biassed in favour of the imperial or the aristocratic prerogative, should represent it in their own favour. The *jus hæreditarium* was not confined to the dukes and counts palatine ; it was enjoyed also by the margraves and counts, and the mode of investiture was the same. The ecclesiastical dignities, as we have frequently observed in the preceding volume, were conferred by the tradition of the cross and ring, until the popes took offence at the form, and both were superseded by the sceptre.* They were generally elective, subject to confirmation by the crown ; yet there were many instances of direct nomination. In Germany the feudal system received an earlier blow from the muni-

* Vol. I. p. 160.

cipalities than in any other country. We have alluded to the privileges which Henry I., when he built new cities and surrounded villages with walls, held out to all who should take up their abodes there. Among these were exemptions from the feudal jurisdiction, and an immediate dependence on that of the crown ; for the time was not yet come when those places were permitted to elect their own magistrates, or return deputies to the diet. In fact, these diets consisted only of two orders, nobles and ecclesiastics : the former comprising the dukes, margraves, counts, counts palatine, and the royal officers of administration ; the latter, the prelates and abbots. Their powers were sufficiently ample. They elected the king who, on the decease of the reigning emperor, was to succeed him ; they nominated regents ; they made laws ; they sanctioned alienations ; they made peace or war ; they tried the great vassals ; they confirmed or annulled the decrees of provincial states. The provincial diets could also make peace or war, erect fortresses, despatch ambassadors, judge the vassals of their jurisdictions ; and their dukes could at any time convoke them, and could decree *by the grace of God*. By imperial concession, they could coin money, open new fairs or markets, fix the customary dues, exercise high and low justice, and work mines,—privileges which attached to the crown, and of which the crown voluntarily divested itself in favour of the states. Yet the emperors were not powerless : they nominated to most vacant benefices ; they long exercised great influence over the papal see ; they were the sovereigns of Lombardy, whose revenues were at their disposal ; they convoked diets and national councils ; they conferred all honours and most vacant fiefs ; they could exercise the high justice in any province, their presence suspending the powers of the vassal, and they received appeals from the inferior tribunals : they could transfer cities or towns from the feudal jurisdiction to their own,—whether, however, without the sanction of a diet, is not very clear ; they received all fines, for-

feitures, and sequestrations, an oath of fidelity from every vassal ; they summoned the feudatories to meet them in the field, and were the generals-in-chief of the whole empire. In regard to the free population and the peasantry, their condition was about the same as in other feudal countries : the former, if free, placed themselves under the protection and among the followers of some noble ; the latter had no other protection than what the feudal laws, or the spirit of religion allowed them,—a protection of little avail whenever the will of their superiors interfered. The manners of the Germans are not drawn in very favourable colours by Nicephorus Phocas, whose words are given us by the bishop Luitprand. The imperial painter represents them as awkward in battle, as ignorant of discipline, as gluttons and drunkards, as courageous only over their cups, as worshippers of their bellies. This is doubtless caricature ; yet, if we except the imputation on their bravery, the foundation is true : from the time of Tacitus to the present, feasting and drinking have been in high esteem among them. But they were no less attached to the chase than to war,—an exercise for which their vast forests afforded them constant facilities. So passionately were they attached to it, that even ecclesiastics could not be deterred from it by the denunciations of saint or synod : in vain did St. Boniface and the council of Augsburg endeavour to end the scandal. Rude as the Germans of the middle ages were, to see a successor of St. Peter hallooing after his dogs certainly struck them as incongruous. Yet the bishops, in virtue of their fiefs, were compelled to send their vassals to the field, and no doubt they considered as somewhat inconsistent a system which commanded them to kill men, but not beasts. Whatever were their defects, the Germans were hospitable, brave, manly, and sincere ; idolaters of individual liberty no less than of national independence.*

* Founded on the same authorities ; especially on Pfaffel, vol. i. p. 164—177., and Schmidt, vol. ii. p. 366, &c.

After the death of St. Henry without issue, the nation,—meaning, of course, some 50,000 of the clergy, to nobles, and freemen,—met on the plain between Worms and Mayence, to elect a successor. As each individual arrived, he took his station among his fellows, according to the class he occupied. On this occasion there were six of these classes :—the high clergy ; the sovereign feudatories or dukes, any one of whom might be elected ; the margraves, counts, counts palatine, and other great officers of the state ; the territorial vassals ; the nobles without fiefs ; and the *ingenui*, or free warriors. The choice fell on *Conrad II.* (1024—1039), a prince of the house of Franconia. His reign offers little that is remarkable ; he appears to have been worsted by the Danes : for the duchy of Slesvic he resigned to Canute the Great. *Henry III.* (1039—1056), son of the above, wrested a portion of western Hungary, from that crown, and annexed it to Lower Austria, in favour of the margrave Leopold. *Henry IV.* (1056—1106) son of the preceding emperor, had a reign of troubles. The Saxons, incensed that the imperial crown should so long remain in the family of Franconia, revolted, and for years maintained a civil war against him. His quarrel with the papal see, and the humiliation to which he was subjected before he could gain absolution, have been noticed.* The popes, taking advantage of a widespread dissatisfaction against him, raised up against him enemies enough, not only in the Saxons, but in the Swabians, and even in the princes of his own family ; of whom three, a brother and two sons, successively contended with him for the crown. By one of his sons, Henry, king of the Romans, he was forced to resign his dignity ; and his last days were passed, not merely in sorrow, but in deplorable poverty. While at Liege he was in absolute want, yet the bishop of Spires had the inhumanity to refuse him a lay prebend in the cathedral, an office for which some skill in singing qualified him. *Henry V.* (1106—1125) had little reason

* Vol. I. p. 154—159.

to congratulate himself on being made the blind instrument alike of papal vengeance and of his own ambition. He, too, was excommunicated, through that everlasting subject of contention, the investitures ; and he, too, was harassed by rebellion and civil war. As he died without issue, the states assembled to choose a successor. One of their first cares was to appoint a committee of princes, equally chosen from those of Rhenish France, Saxony, and Bavaria, who were to exercise the right of *pretaxation*,— that is, of submitting such candidates to the suffrages of the states, as they might judge most worthy of the honour. After mature deliberation, they selected Leopold margrave of Austria, who had married the sister of the last monarch ; Frederic of Hohenstauffen, duke of Swabia, nephew of the same Henry ; Lothaire duke of Saxony ; and Charles the Good, count of Flanders. Almost all the electors were in favour of Frederic ; but, through the intrigues of the papal legate, who swayed the clergy, the choice fell on Lothaire. At this crisis, Conrad duke of Franconia returned from a crusade to the Holy Land ; and as he was the elder brother of Frederic, in him vested the rights of his house. He was elected by another diet, and a civil war followed, which ended in a pacification. On the death of Lothaire the chief competitors were Conrad, and Henry the Proud, duke of Saxony and Bavaria : the former was hastily and illegally elected, since the choice took place in the absence of Henry, the Saxons, and the Bavarians. But though these warlike people, with their duke, submitted, Conrad, whether through jealousy or fear, caused Henry to be proscribed by a diet held at Würzburg, with a forfeiture of his fief. This injudicious proceeding led to a civil war, which ended in the restoration of Saxony to Henry the Lion, son of Henry the Proud, who died in the interim. After a crusade to the Holy Land, Conrad was assailed by another civil war, excited by Guelf of Bavaria, brother of Henry the Proud, who drew the sword for that duchy, which had been con-

ferred on the house of Austria ; but his valour enabled him to triumph over all obstacles. On his death, in 1152, as he left only an infant son, and as the times were threatening, the states passed over that young prince ; but they elected a prince of the same house, *Frederic I.* of Hohenstauffen, duke of Swabia. As Frederic, besides being an able and valiant prince, was not merely the head of that house,—a branch of the great family of Franconia,—but allied by blood or marriage with the houses of Saxony and Austria, he was regarded as the candidate in every respect best fitted to secure internal peace. In fact, he held the sceptre with a firm hand ; the empire was scarcely disturbed by civil war,—an advantage which enabled him to devote most of his attention to the affairs of Italy. He had, however, often need of great moderation, no less than of firmness, in settling the disputes of his princely vassals. In the fourth year of his reign he ended one which had existed many years, by a compromise between Henry, duke of Saxony, and the margrave of Austria. In return for the surrender of Bavaria, the latter received the investiture of Upper Austria, and the ducal title over Upper and Lower Austria, with concessions which rendered him and his successors almost independent of the imperial crown. In a few years, however, Henry the Lion was deprived of all his fiefs by a diet : Saxony, which was too much for any feudatory, was divided among several ; from Bavaria, two provinces, Styria and the Tyrol, were detached, and were made immediately dependent on the empire. Before this condemnation, Henry reigned over more than half of Germany ; but henceforth he was compelled to remain satisfied with Brunswick and Lunenburg, the patrimonial possessions of his house. This was, doubtless, an act of great policy ; for such a subject was too powerful for his master. On the death of Frederic Barbarossa, his son, *Henry VI.* (1190—1197), succeeded. The behaviour of this prince to Richard Cœur de Lion, whom Leopold of Austria had treacherously seized, does little honour to his memory. Under

him Bohemia was erected into a kingdom ; and Brandenburg, which, in the time of Frederic, had been created a margraviate, in favour of the posterity of Albert the Boar, increased in power and extent. The sceptre was successively swayed by *Philip* (1197—1208), by *Otho IV.* (1208—1218), and by *Frederic II.* (1218—1250), all, except the second, of the house of Hohenstauffen. The first was almost entirely engaged in a civil war, until assassination ended his days ; Otho was dethroned by Frederic of Hohenstauffen, king of Sicily ; and the reign of Frederic himself was one of continued troubles, as may be seen in the former volume of this work. *Conrad IV.* (1250—1254), the last monarch of this house, had, before his father's death, been engaged in opposing William count of Holland, whom the papal see had raised against the obnoxious Frederic. The troubles which followed surpassed all that this country, fruitful as it has been in great revolutions, has ever experienced. The empire was continually disputed by various competitors,—by Frederic, and Otho, and William, and Richard of Cornwall, and Alfonso of Castile,—until Rudolf, son of Albert, count of Hapsburg and landgrave of Upper Alsace, who had distinguished himself in the service of the king of Bohemia, and who is the true founder of Austrian greatness, was, with the full consent of the papal see, elevated to this dignity. His coronation put an end to the troubles which, during so many years, had agitated the empire ; and as he surrendered to the pope several great fiefs in Italy *, he at the same time gave peace to the Christian world.†

* Vol. I. p. 164.

† Hermannus Contractus, Chronicon, p. 274—300. Lambertus Schaffhausenensis, de Rebus Germanorum, p. 317—424. Additiones ad Lambertum Schaffh. p. 425—433. Marianus Scotus, Chronicon, lib. iii. p. 648—655. Dodechinus, Appendix ad eundem, p. 657—678. Sigebertus Gemblacensis, Chronographia, p. 830—864. Robertus de Monte, Appendix ad eundem, p. 865—942. Anselmus Gemblacensis, Chronicon, p. 943—1015. Siffredus Misensis, Epitome, lib. ii. (sub annis). Anonymus, Chronicon Montis Sereni, p. 166—310. Otho Friaingensis ; necnon Radevicus, Continuator ejus, de Gestis Frederici II., p. 629—859. Otho de Sancto Blasio, Chronicon, passim. Benzo, Panegyricus in Henricum III. Imper. lib. i.—vii. Coesma Pragensis, Chronicon Boemorum, lib. ii. iii. p. 30—72. Anonymus, Historia Ducum Styriæ, p. 22—109. passim. Mutin. Chronicon Germanorum (sub annis). Pfeffel, Histoire, i. 178—420. Schmidt, Histoire, tom. iii.

The period over which we have so hastily passed, 1024 and which, for the sake of convenience, we shall separate to into two portions, exhibits, among other remarkable things, a rapid augmentation of the aristocratic, and a consequent diminution of the imperial power. I. Before the close of the eleventh century, we read that the emperor could no longer confer a ducal fief, or elevate a count to the dignity of prince, without the sanction of a diet. Without the same consent he could not pardon condemned nobles, nor enjoy their confiscated property, nor alienate any portion of the imperial domains. His judicial authority was no less circumscribed ; since the ecclesiastical dignitaries exercised the high and low jurisdiction with the same plenitude of power as the secular feudatories. But we find that, if his power was decreased, his title gained in dignity. Previous to his recognition by the pope, he did not assume the imperial title : on his election he was styled *king of the Franks*, sometimes *king of the Lombards*, often *king* only. Henry II. appears to have been the first to assume the more magnificent style of *king of the Romans* : this, added to the still more splendid appellation of the *holy Roman empire*, shows the anxiety with which the emperors wished to be regarded as the successors of Augustus. Three royal vassals, the kings of Denmark, Poland, and Bohemia, might well nourish their pride : if one of these happened to be present, he bore before the sovereign the imperial sword of Charlemagne, with which every royal investiture was made. Their revenues, which appear to have been augmented, were divided into fixed and casual. 1. There was the Germanic domain, stretching chiefly on both banks of the Rhine, from Cologne to Bâle ; there were the contributions furnished by Italy, which was termed their *regnum proprium* ; there was the tribute paid by the Slavonic tribes ; the produce of the mines ; the tax on the Jews ; the regalia servitia, or subsidies from the states, ecclesiastical and temporal ; there were the post duties, the duties on travellers, and the right of food

and forage in whatever province the court (which was often ambulatory) chanced to abide. 2. Their casual revenues were derived from judicial fines; from the property belonging to convicted malefactors; from all open fiefs in default of heirs; from all the personal property left by bishops and abbots immediately nominated by the crown; from all shipwrecks and conquests. The diets, which consisted of the ecclesiastics, or arch-bishops, bishops, and abbots; and of the secular princes, or dukes, princes, counts, official dignitaries, and the territorial nobility, were generally convoked by the emperor, but often by the archbishop of Mayence, as primate and arch-chancellor of the realm. Where the public interest did not admit of the delay necessarily involved in the convocation of the states, the emperor could consult with the dukes and princes who happened to be at court.—Though the succession to all fiefs was strictly hereditary, the right had many limitations: females, bastards, nay, even the offspring of ill-assorted marriages, were excluded. We have before alluded to the six orders; or, as they are called, the six military bucklers of the empire, in the following gradation:—1. Dukes. 2. Ecclesiastical princes. 3. Secular princes, as land-graves, margraves, and counts. 4. The territorial nobility. 5. The ministers of the local princes. 6. The great body of freemen, all entitled to bear arms. It does not appear that the three latter classes had any voice in the public deliberations, though all assembled in the diets of election. During the period under consideration, the cities were favoured by the emperors. The artisans were enfranchised, and arranged under corporations, according to their respective trades. Such was the general state of society prior to the middle of the twelfth century; its state a full century afterwards was equally progressive.—II. During the second period under consideration, viz. from the middle of the twelfth century downwards, we find the same continued diminution of authority on the part of the crown: its most important functions gradually passed into the

hands of the states, chiefly through concessions of the emperors themselves, who, when anti-Cæsars were in the field—and this during the century we are examining was generally the case—never hesitated to concede whatever was demanded of them. The administration of justice was usurped by the great feudatories, who abolished the counts palatine, and the ambulatory judges of the court, and rendered all within their jurisdiction amenable to their own tribunals. As a necessary consequence, the dukes, margraves, counts, &c. became actual sovereigns; they presided in the provincial states, where laws were proposed and made without the imperial sanction. The power of the great feudatories, or more properly sovereigns, was inversely progressive with the decline of the imperial. From their right of pretaxation, or of deciding on what candidates should be proposed for the crown, the transition to that of absolute nomination was natural and easy: hence we now find them denominated as the *electoral college*. Soon after the time of Lothaire II. these great dignitaries were seven, three ecclesiastical and four secular princes; the former being the archbishops of Mayence, Cologne, and Trèves, the latter the dukes of Franconia, Bavaria, Saxony, and Swabia. It seems certain that Conrad IV. was elected by these dignitaries, and that the rest of the princes had no other privilege than that of *consenting*,—for of their *suffrage* not one word was said. Yet at this time the usurpation was not formally sanctioned: the diet was an irregular one; and these actual sovereigns had probably little difficulty in bribing or forcing the inferior nobles to recognise the new claim; and they might urge the specious plea, that, as popular tumult would thereby be avoided, a good choice was more likely to result from its exercise. A fifth secular prince was soon added to the electoral college. This was the count palatine of the Rhine, who preserved his jurisdiction when the office was every where else abolished, probably by annexing it to his hereditary duchy, the palatinate. Other changes followed, the knowledge of

which is necessary towards a clear conception of the Germanic confederation. The count palatine of the Rhine soon succeeded to the duchy of Bavaria ; but, as no elector was allowed in these days to possess two votes, the suffragan privilege of Bavaria was transferred to the crown of Bohemia. Again, when one of the great dukes was elected to the throne, he was compelled to confide the right of voting involved in his duchy, to some dignitary not already an elector. Thus, when Frederic of Hohenstauffen assumed the reins of empire, he trusted the suffragan rights of his duchy (Swabia) to the margrave of Brandenburg, the only great dignitary not an elector who was not dependent on some one of the four German duchies. And here we may observe, that none of these archbishops or dukes voted *as such*, but in virtue of some great office which they held, inseparable from the ecclesiastical or temporal fief. Thus, one was arch-chancellor, another grand cupbearer, a third master of the household to the emperor ; and it was in virtue of these offices, some of which were nominal, that they elected kings of the Romans. But these eight feudatories were not merely electors ; they gradually usurped some of the most important functions of the imperial office, no less than of the offices which had previously fallen under the cognisance of the diets. They represented themselves, not merely as the natural counsellors of the empire, but as the representatives of the Germanic nobility,—as if the latter had confided to them the powers hitherto inherent in a general assembly of the body.—But there was another college, that of princes, the formation and history of which is one of the most interesting things exhibited by Germany during the middle ages. The dismemberment of the great duchies of Saxony and Bavaria called into existence a considerable number of local feudatories, who, with dominions formed from the scattered fragments of these great fiefs, obtained separate jurisdictions virtually independent of each other, no less than of the electors, and assumed the title of princes of the empire. Among

these were the dukes of Austria, Styria, and Pomerania; the margrave of Misnia, the landgrave of Meiningen, the counts of Mecklenburg and Holstein. On the execution of Conradin, the last duke of Swabia, and the last of the Hohenstauffens*, with whom the political existence of that duchy expired, the counts of Würtemburg, Fürstemburg, Hohenzollern, and many others, entered on the scene of Germanic history. The dissolution of these vast duchies was certainly a good, since it took from one man the power of withstanding emperor or diet, and of troubling the state.—The bishops aspired, in the same manner, to independence.—But as if these divisions of territory were not sufficient, these princes, at their death, equally subdivided their possessions among their sons,—a policy which greatly augmented the numerical force of the order. Thus, the house of Saxe, which had considerable family possessions after its fall from the sovereignty over half of Germany, was split into the dukes of Lunenburg and the princes of Anhalt: Upper and Lower Bavaria had each its duke; and that of Zehringen divided its possessions and dignities with the margraviate of Baden. Many of the princes who thus succeeded, by family compact or testamentary declaration, to their patrimonial domains, agreed to hold them as fiefs of the empire, on the condition of their recognition as princes of the new college. This body exercised in each duchy the jurisdiction which had formerly been held by the duke and the assembled states.—The third great characteristic of these times is the progress of the free and imperial cities, which in reality became so many little republics. Originally, in each city there was a wide distinction in the condition of the inhabitants. The nobles were those to defend the walls, the free citizens to assist them, and the slaves to supply the wants of both. By the two first classes all the offices of magistracy were filled, even after the enfranchisement of the last by Henry V. But as the last class was by

* See Vol. I. p. 129.

far the most numerous ; as their establishment into corporations, subject to their heads, gave them organisation, union, and strength, they began to complain of the wall of separation between them. That wall was demolished, not, indeed, at once, but by degrees ; the burgesses gained privilege after privilege, access to the highest municipal dignities, until marriages between their daughters and the nobles were no longer stigmatised as ill-assorted or unequal. The number of imperial cities, — of those which, in accordance with imperial charters, were governed either by a lieutenant of the emperor, or by their own chief magistrate — was greatly augmented after the death of Conradin ; those in the two escheated duchies of Franconia and Swabia lost no time in securing their exemption from feudal jurisdiction. The next step in the progress of these imperial cities was *confederation*, which was formed, not only for the protection of each other's rights against either feudal or imperial encroachments, but for the attainment of other privileges, which they considered necessary to their prosperity. The league of the Rhine, which was inspired by William of Holland, appears to have been the first ; it was soon followed by that of the Hanse towns. The latter confederation, which ultimately consisted of above fourscore cities, the most flourishing in Germany, had no other object beyond the enjoyment of a commercial monopoly — of their own advantage, to the prejudice of all Europe. Of this confederation, or copartnership, Lubeck set the example before the middle of the thirteenth century : her first allies were the towns on the Baltic, then infested by pirates ; and to trade without fear of these pirates was the chief motive to the association. So rapidly did the example succeed, that on the death of Richard of Cornwall, all the cities between the Rhine and the Vistula were thus connected. The association had four chief emporia, London, Bruges, Novogorod, and Bergen ; and the direction of its affairs was entrusted to four great cities, Lubeck, Cologne, Dantzig, and Brunswick. The consequence was, not only

a degree of commercial glory unrivalled in the annals of the world, but a height of power which no commercial emporium, not even Tyre, ever reached. The Hanse towns were able, on any emergency, not only to equip a considerable number of ships, but to hire mercenaries, who, added to their own troops, constituted a formidable army. They were powerful enough to place their royal allies — and their alliance might well be sought by kings — on the thrones of Sweden and Denmark. — A fourth distinguishing characteristic of this period was the growing independence of the great body of nobles. On the death of Conradin, as, previously, on the dismemberment of Saxony and Bavaria, the territorial nobility of Swabia and Franconia were left without a superior, — absolute allodial proprietors, with the jurisdiction inherent in their domains. They could never, indeed, obtain admission into a general diet, or the recognition of their existence as an independent body ; but their numbers, their possessions, their valour, made amends for the disappointment, and rendered their support, whether to emperor or electors, a matter of no trifling importance : into whatever scale they threw their arms, it was sure to preponderate. They chiefly resided in Franconia, the palatinate, and Swabia, the local administration of which, being divided into cantons, remained in their own hands. We may add that these nobles imitated the example of the towns by confederating, whenever the privileges of their order were at stake, or even when any individual member was liable to injury by the crown, the princes, or the municipal corporations. Their head, in a certain district, was denominated the burgrave, just as the head of a municipal town was the burgomaster. But while every order of the state, every other class of society, was thus enabled to consult its own interests, the peasants were a prey to all — to exactions in peace, to depredations during war. As they were not allowed to carry arms, they had no means of defending themselves ; and their complaints might have been uttered to the winds. All

orders agreed in oppressing them, none with greater alacrity than the municipalities, which had domains and fiefs in abundance, and which treated them with the last rigour. This is as little honourable to those corporations, which had themselves been recently elevated to freedom by the policy of the emperors, as it is to human nature. Self is the great spring of action,—a truth more odiously apparent in commercial associations, than in any other social power.*

1273 No prince could have been better fitted to terminate
to the anarchy and to restore the prosperity of Germany
1495. than *Rudolf I.* Himself count of Hapsburg and Kyburg, descended from the ancient counts of Alsace, he had birth illustrious enough in a country where the want of it would have been fatal to his pretensions ; his talents had been sharpened by intrigue, negotiation, and the difficulties of an inferior station ; and his valour had been signalised in the service of the Bohemian king. But what not a little forwarded his views was the unusual circumstance that three of the secular electors were unmarried, and that he had three daughters arrived at a marriageable age. His pretensions were, indeed, opposed by his old master, Ottocar of Bohemia ; but the opposition of one elector was of no other use than that of sowing the seeds of future dissension. As Ottocar still refused to submit, the diet authorised Rudolf to declare war against him. In fact, the new emperor required all his talents, all his valour, all his influence, to overcome the obstacles before him. How he settled with the pope the everlasting disputes between that see and his predecessors, we have before related.† His arms were successful over the turbulent feudatories, who, emboldened by long impunity, were making open war on each other. The proud king of Bohemia, who had acquired some rights over the dukes of Austria, Styria, Carniola, and Carinthia, was next humbled ; being several times

* Founded on the same authorities, especially on Pfeffel and Schmidt, — two historians of whom any country might boast.

† Vol. I. p. 146.

defeated, and pursued into his dominions, he was compelled to relinquish all supremacy over their vassals, while, in return, he was confirmed in the possession of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia. There is an old story, — whether true, may probably be disputed — that the moment Ottocar knelt to do homage, Rudolf caused the curtains which surrounded his throne to be suddenly dropt, that the assembled multitude might behold the humiliation of the fierce king. However this be, it is certain that Ottocar, indignant at the terms which had been imposed on him, renewed the war, was defeated, and slain on the field of battle. The conqueror, through the mediation of the elector of Brandenburg, confirmed Wenceslaus, the son of Ottocar, in the possession of Bohemia, on the condition that, if he died without issue, they should pass to count Rudolf, the son of the emperor, who received the hand of a Bohemian princess, sister of Wenceslas. The duchies of Austria and Styria were at first placed under the administration of Louis the Stern, son-in-law of the emperor, while those of Carniola and Carinthia rested in the hands of count Maynard of the Tyrol, — both as his lieutenants or imperial vicars. But Rudolf soon showed that he was resolved to make all the four hereditary in his descendants, by conferring the fiefs of the first two on his son Albert, and by marrying the same Albert to a daughter of Maynard, with a stipulation that on the extinction of Maynard's male issue, Carinthia and his other possessions should pass into the new house of Austria. In fact, the whole policy of Rudolf was to aggrandise his family ; for, on the death of the landgrave of Thuringia, he caused that fief to be conferred on his son-in-law, Albert duke of Saxony. This is the true source of Austrian greatness, — of a family the most ancient, the most proud, the most fortunate in all Europe, of one which has generally used its prosperity with singular moderation, — for the well-being of the people no less than for its own glory. On the death of this great prince, the diet did not elect his eldest son, Albert of

Austria, but *Adolf count of Nassau*. (1291—1298.) This policy was injudicious: the family thus rejected was too powerful to be offended with impunity; a civil war followed, in which Adolf fell by the hands of his rival; and *Albert I.* (1298—1308) grasped the reins of empire. Though this monarch met with much opposition from his powerful vassals, he steadily pursued the aggrandisement of his family. One of his objects was to unite Uri, Schweitz, and Unterwalden, which were nominally dependent on the empire, under a prince of his house; and when the brave inhabitants rejected his offers, he, with true Machiavelian policy, excited them, through his agents, to revolt, that he might afterwards inflict on them the penalty which best suited his views. The extortions of his officers, the tyranny of Gessler, the patriotism of Tell, the league of the cantons, and his own assassination, while, hastening to accomplish his meditated vengeance, are among the most memorable lessons of history. The rapacity and tyranny of Albert caused the electors to pass over his family, and to invest with the purple the count of Luxemburg, *Henry VII.* (1308—1313.) Henry rewarded the patriotism of the Swiss cantons by declaring them exempt from the jurisdiction of the house of Austria. He still more strongly showed his dislike to that family by marrying his only son to Elizabeth of Bohemia, the crown of which he thus brought into his own house. On his death the Austrian princes fiercely contended for the empire, with the view of seizing Bohemia, to which, indeed, they had a clear right; and the Bohemian king, John of Luxemburg, as fiercely opposed them. It was the wish of the diet to elect a king who might not be, personally at least, obnoxious to either; but the electors split, one party elevating Frederic of Austria, another *Louis of Bavaria*, to the vacant throne. A civil war inevitably followed, in which Louis triumphed, and made his rival prisoner. But as Louis was bitterly persecuted by the pope (John XXII.), who endeavoured to procure his deposition, he entered into a close alliance

with his prisoner, in which it was agreed that the imperial authority should be divided between them. Frederic died in 1330, leaving Louis undisputed sovereign of Germany, who confirmed his power by nominating the Austrian princes vicars-general within their respective jurisdictions ; and on the demise of the duke of Carinthia he invested Otho of Austria with that duchy. Eventually the Austrian duke succeeded to the lordship of the Tyrol. For this act of justice—there was no favour in the case—the emperor excited the indignation of Charles, the Bohemian king, who had his pretensions to these provinces, and who, like his father, was always the inveterate enemy of the true heirs. *Charles* drew the sword against his emperor ; and though he was defeated, not only did death deliver him from that emperor's revenge, but a portion of the electors raised him to the vacant dignity. (1346—1378.) He was opposed, indeed, by the hostile party of Austria, who found more than one anti-Cæsar, to perplex him and to agitate the empire ; but eventually he triumphed, rather by bribes than by the force of arms. Such was the hatred he bore to the Austrian princes, that he not only prevailed on the electoral college to promise that, in the event of his death, they would not elect any one of his rivals, but in a royal decree, as king of Bohemia, he forbade all his successors, to the end of time, to vote for any prince of that obnoxious house. On his death, his party was powerful enough to raise his son *Wenceslas* (1378—1400) to the imperial dignity. The reign of this prince was troubled ; it was above all signalised by civil wars between the princes of the empire, and between the princes and the imperial cities. Having rendered himself despicable by his vices, perhaps also by his imbecility, he was deposed by the electors, and succeeded by *Robert* count palatine of the Rhine (1400—1410), whose reign offers little to interest us. *Sigismund* king of Hungary was next raised to the throne. (1410—1437.) The efforts of this monarch were chiefly directed to the extinction of the famous

schism which had so long distracted the church, and to the persecution of the Hussites in Bohemia, to which kingdom he succeeded in 1419. These sectarians, however, gave him trouble enough: they hoisted the standard of revolt, and ravaged the greater part of the empire, and that too during most of his reign. The next successor was *Albert II.* (1438, 1439), archduke of Austria, who was followed by another prince of his house, *Frederic III.* (1439—1493.) These two princes secured the ascendancy of their house. In 1453, Frederic erected Austria into an archdukedom, empowering the sovereign to create new counts. By marrying his son Maximilian to Mary of Burgundy, daughter of Charles the Bold, he extended the sovereignty of his family over the Low Countries; and he had the address to procure the election of that son as king of the Romans.*

- 1273 The period at which we have glanced exhibits the
 to same uniform progress of the aristocratical and decline
 1493. of the imperial power. In 1356, Charles IV. published
 the famous golden bull,—so called from the golden seal
 attached to it,—which recognised and fixed the pri-
 vileges of the electors. It recognises seven,—three
 ecclesiastical, four temporal; the former being, the arch-
 bishops of Mayence, Cologne, and Trèves; the latter
 the king of Bohemia, the count palatine, the duke of
 Saxony, and the margrave of Brandenburg. The offices
 attached to these dignities, in virtue of which offices
 they exercised the elective privilege, are also particu-
 larised. The three archbishops were arch-chancellors;
 the first of Germany, the second of Italy, the third of
 Arles: to the kingdom of Bohemia was attached the
 office of grand cup-bearer; to the palatinate, that of grand
 seneschal; to the duchy of Saxony, that of grand marshal;
 and to the margraviate of Brandenburg, that of grand
 chamberlain; and the principalities, the heads of which

* The authorities on which the above paragraph is founded are too nu-
 merous to be cited. The chief are, the histories of the house of Austria
 and of Bohemia, the biographers of the emperors, with Pfeffel and Schmidt.

were to act as their deputies or lieutenants during their absence, are no less carefully specified. The electors palatine and of Saxony were recognised as the hereditary vicars of the emperor during his absence, minority, or illness; the former, too, was the grand judge of the realm. Within their respective jurisdictions, all the electors were absolute and sovereign: from their tribunal was no appeal; they were declared equal in dignity to crowned heads, and a crime against them was high treason. Sigismund, however, created an imperial chamber, with ampler powers than had ever been possessed by the grand judge, which was to watch over the administration of justice, and to revoke causes before it whenever the form or the spirit of the law was violated. In regard to new laws, the emperor could only propose them to the diet: if they were approved, it was his duty to publish them. He was, in fact, the mere executor of the diet, the delegate of its powers: nearly all his ancient prerogatives,—the jurisdiction civil or criminal, the high police, the legislative power,—had been snatched from him by the states, and with them had disappeared the vast domains of the crown, and those ample revenues which had once been able to maintain armies on foot. But if the electors and the college of princes thus shook off their dependence on the emperor, they were not very solicitous to consult the rights of the inferior territorial nobility, whom, with the view of rendering themselves absolute, they oppressed in every possible manner, adding usurpation to usurpation, and procuring its sanction from the crown. These haughty dignitaries, for the same reason, were often at war with the imperial cities; but generally without success, as most belonged to some confederation which could make even sovereigns quail. But these everlasting broils were fatal to domestic tranquillity. Private war was forbidden; but where was the power to enforce the prohibition? Indeed, the war of one great feudatory with another could scarcely be called private: it was rather that of sovereign with

sovereign. This, however, was not the worst evil; for many of the rural nobility, who had castles where they could withstand a stout siege, lived by open plunder. To end this disgraceful, however inveterate, state of things, was the object of Maximilian, successor of Frederic III., and of the diet assembled at Worms in 1495. For this purpose, the imperial chamber, which Frederic had founded, was remodelled, extended, and recognised by the diet. It consisted of a chief judge, and of sixteen assessors, of whom half were professors of law, the other half nobles. It was invested with an appellate jurisdiction over all the tribunals of the states, but not with any in causes of the first instance, since, by a law of the empire, no man could be cited in justice before any tribunal beyond the bounds of the state he inhabited. To remove all temptation to rapacity or tyranny where it was most to be expected, in each electorate a new court was established, in which suits might be instituted against the elector himself; and if the decision did not satisfy the plaintiff, he could appeal to the imperial chamber. The same chamber took cognisance of disputes between any two states, though not in the first instance: they were first submitted to a certain number of arbitrators, selected from other states; and if this arbitration were rejected by either party, then only could the chamber interfere. Its seat was Frankfort; but it was subsequently transferred to other places; nor did the original number of judges and assessors continue unchanged: sometimes there was one, sometimes five judges, while the assessors varied from sixteen to fifty; and eventually the number of both was fairly divided into catholic and protestant. With these subsequent changes, however, we have no concern: we may observe, that, to enforce its decisions, Germany, except the electorates and Austria, was divided into six circles, of which each had its council, its director, and its military force; so that the mandate of the imperial chamber was not suffered, as had often been the case with the decrees of the emperors, to remain without

effect. Some years afterwards (in 1512), four new circles, comprising the states previously excepted, were added; so that the whole empire was thus divided into ten.*

The rise of the house of Austria from an insignificant principality to hereditary empire—for, from the time of Albert II., every emperor, one excepted, was of that family—is one of the most striking characteristics of the middle ages. By what degrees they acquired Austria, Styria, Carniola, Carinthia, and the Tyrol, we have already seen. That, in consequence of the compact of Rudolf with Wenceslas of Bohemia, they had also an undoubted right to that kingdom, is certain; but, during more than two centuries, the violence of the house of Luxemburg, assisted by the margraves of Brandenburg, deprived them of their inheritance. The intolerance, however, of the Luxemburg princes, by forcing the Hussites to revolt, sapped the foundations of their sway. After a long civil war, a compromise was effected between the catholics and the dissidents, and Sigismund was again acknowledged; but bigotry on the one side, and fanaticism on the other, soon led to a revolt, in which the Hussites raised to the throne George Podiebrad, a nobleman of their own communion. This king defended his dignity with great ability and spirit; and on his death, the people elected as his successor Uladislas, son of Casimir king of Poland, who succeeded to the throne of Hungary. The two crowns, Bohemia and Hungary, were thus united; but they did not long continue in the regal house of Poland. The battle of Mohacz, in which Louis, the son of Uladislas, fell while fighting against the Turks, transferred the sceptre of both to the hands of Ferdinand of Austria, the next heir, who had married the sister of Louis. From this time both crowns, like the imperial power, have remained in this family. That family, however, was less fortunate in regard to Switzerland. Originally the cantons now comprised in that confederation

1273
to
1495.

* Authorities, Pfeffel and Schmidt.

belonged to the kingdom of Transjurane Burgundy. On the dissolution of that kingdom, in 1032, they reverted to the empire. A number of independent petty sovereignties rose into existence; and among them two of the most considerable were the lordships of Kyburg and Hapsburg, held by the ancestors of Rudolf. By marriages, intrigues, and other causes, that house became the sovereign of the greater part of Switzerland. But these brave mountaineers were not disposed to receive the yoke which Albert I. intended for them: the three cantons, Schweitz (whence the name of the confederation), Uri, and Unterwalden, joined in a solemn league to defend their ancient liberty: the death of Albert and the favour of Henry VII. consolidated their union. In 1315 they were strong enough to defeat Leopold of Austria, who attempted their reduction. In a few years, Lucerne acceded to the confederacy, and, towards the close of the same century, the example was followed by Zurich, Glaris, Zug, and Berne. These eight are called the ancient cantons: they were so many republics, all as hostile to the neighbouring nobility as jealous of their own freedom. Seeing how impossible the effort to reduce these brave men, who had strongly fortified cities, the house of Austria sold its feudal superiorities over the cantons: in 1417, the last remnant of these once ample territories was wrested from Frederic count of the Tyrol, who, by supporting the pretensions of John XXIII., in opposition to the council of Constance, incurred the ban of the empire. The efforts of Maximilian to reduce the cantons were as unsuccessful as those of his predecessors; and he was compelled, in 1500, to recognise their independence.*

Before we conclude this sketch of the political and civil history of Germany and France, we must devote

* Dubravius, *Historia Bohemica*, lib. 14—33. Eneas Sylvius, *Hist. Bohem.* cap. 26—73. *Chronica Aulae Regiae*, cap. 1—34. *Vita Caroli IV.* p. 86—107. Coxe, *House of Austria*, *passim*. Pfeffel, *Histoire d'Allemagne (sub annis)*. Schmidt, *Histoire*, tom. iii.—vi.; *cum aliis*.

a few pages to a subject which will throw considerable light on both,—that of their jurisprudence.

IV. GERMANIC JURISPRUDENCE.—All the Germanic nations were long governed by their customs, which we may term their common or unwritten law. Of those customs little other knowledge is to be gained than what we find in the “*Germania*” of Tacitus; nor is this to be much regretted, when we consider that the written codes of each people are based on their ancient observances. In fact, we should be justified in asserting that their codes were mainly identical with their customs,—such changes being made in them as were rendered necessary by a different state of society. The most ancient is the *Lex Salica*, which was drawn up for the government of the Salian Franks after that people had passed into the Low Countries. It was augmented, amended, and promulgated by Clovis, the founder of the Frank monarchy, long before whose time it had the power of law; and to it considerable additions were made by succeeding princes of that dynasty. But another tribe of the Franks, the *Ripuarii*, had also their code, the antiquity of which nearly approaches that of their Salian kindred: it was first published by Theodoric, son of Clovis, and afterwards considerably augmented by Dagobert. That of the *Burgundians* was promulgated by Gundobald, and augmented by Sigismund. Theodoric king of the Ostrogoths published in the same century (the fifth) his celebrated *Edict*, which served as a foundation to the still more famous code of the *Visigoths*. Of equal antiquity was the code ascribed to the *Angles* before their descent into Britain: whether it really regulated that people, or the kindred Thuringians, is doubted by the learned. All these people might, perhaps, have been satisfied with their ancient customs, had they not found it necessary to protect new rights, the result of new relations, especially as their intercourse with the vanquished Gauls must have introduced considerable embarrassment into the social system,—an embarrassment not to be removed unless by the plainest regula-

tions. Among each other, indeed, the latter were observed to invoke the Roman law ; but when the dispute lay between a Frank and a Gaul, the barbaric code would naturally have the preference. All, however, may be regarded as approximations from the ancient observances to the Roman law ; for all bear, in a greater or less degree, the impress of imperial legislation ; and subsequently, by gradual steps, the resemblance became much more striking. In reality the spirit of the Roman jurisprudence was so much more favourable to what every king must cherish — the absolute authority of the crown, — that it was soon honoured with the attention of the Germanic kings. If they could not abolish their ancient codes, and substitute that of the vanquished, they could at least insensibly infuse its spirit into the former. Before the time of Charlemagne, all the nations we have mentioned had their written codes, more or less deeply pervaded by that spirit. But these no longer inhabited Germany, which they had abandoned either to avoid the yoke of some more powerful race of conquerors, or in the hope of obtaining superior settlements in the south. We do not hear that that country had any written code until the *Alamanni*, or *Swabians*, who were subject to the Franks, obtained one from the successors of Clovis, which was, for that reason, strikingly similar to that of the victors. When the *Bavarians* received the yoke, they too received a code ; but as they were governed by their own hereditary princes (the Agilolfingi) they were not without their native laws. Thus they had the *Decretum Tassilonis*, or the Edict of their duke, Tassilo, in addition to their code. The next German people who, in the order of time, published a written body of laws were probably the *Frisians*. But though the *Lex Frisica* is, perhaps, in this respect, posterior to those which we have mentioned, it bears marks of greater antiquity than some of them ; at least, unlike them, it is strongly pervaded by the spirit of heathenism : it is, in fact, the rudest and most bloody of all the Germanic codes. The laws of the Lombards

we have already described*,—the capitularies, or edicts of the kings, from Childebert downwards. They were followed by the Lex Saxonum, which consisted of the ancient observances of that warlike people, and which was first promulgated by Charlemagne. This prince, indeed, was the most extensive legislator of the middle ages, not even excepting Alfonso el Sabio. Besides these Saxon laws, he added considerably to the codes of the Salian and Ripuarian Franks, to those of the Bavarians and the Lombards. But more celebrated than all the preceding are the capitularies which that emperor promulgated, not for one people only, but for all the nations which obeyed his sceptre. These are the first efforts at universal legislation in western Europe from the time of Justinian; and they are the most celebrated of all the Germanic laws, the Wisigothic alone excepted. Additions neither few nor inconsiderable were made to them by succeeding emperors, not only of the Carlovingian, but of the Saxon and Franconian dynasties. Those additions appear to have been partly derived from the Roman code, but chiefly to have originated in the wants occasioned by the progress of the feudal system. These general regulations did not always supersede the authority of the local codes; on the contrary, they were rather designed to supply defects. That, for instance, the Lex Saxonum and the Lex Frisica continued in force, and were augmented by Harold, king of Denmark, who extended his conquests into southern Germany, we learn from the unquestionable evidence of Helmold and Adam of Bremen. By the three Othos many laws were added to the capitularies, probably also to the provincial codes; for at this period there is no vestige whatever of the Roman jurisprudence in Germany. It is otherwise with respect to the canon law; for Regino the historian, at the command of the archbishop of Trèves, compiled it from ancient canons and papal decretals,—probably, too from the dishonest work of Isidore. In

* See Vol. I. LOMBARDY.

the eleventh century, the Roman law penetrated into the empire ; but in the twelfth only did it occupy much attention, or give a complexion to the native jurisprudence. Its methodical arrangement, the demonstrative nature of its principles, the exercise which it afforded to the intellect, made it eagerly embraced by the learned ; while to sovereigns it was no less agreeable, for the reason we have more than once stated. In England, France, Burgundy, Spain, no less than the empire and Italy, it was received with great admiration. In the first of these countries it was not destined to shoot its roots very widely into the soil ; but in the others it arrived at a majestic growth. The work of Gratian, "Concordia Canonum Discordantium," which so highly extolled the papal prerogative, was soon taken into as much favour by the popes as the sister code by temporal sovereigns. During the following two centuries both were cultivated with an energy as if they alone were worthy of the human intellect, though the latter had much less influence on German legislation than we should expect. But the states which were anxious rather to diminish than to augment the imperial prerogative, could not regard with much complacency a code so favourable to despotism, even when its obnoxious spirit was purified by passing through the medium of native freedom. We have shown by what degrees the power of legislation was wrested from the crown, and usurped by the states : we are, therefore, prepared to expect, what we find to be the case, that the spirit of ancient Germanic jurisprudence was again invoked, to the neglect of her southern rival. And as the great dukes and electors became the sole sovereigns within their respective fiefs, as they would admit no laws except such as they and their provincial states enacted ; as the whole empire was thus split into numerous petty sovereignties, we need not expect to meet general legislation. Hence the number of provincial codes by which these people were governed,—the *Speculum Saxonicum*, the *Jus Feudale Saxonicum*, the *Speculum Suevicum*,

the *Jus Feudale Sueicum*, and others,— which were founded on the ancient codes of the nation, with such changes and additions as were required by an altered state of society. Besides these, there were the laws of single cities, of such as were free and imperial, and had their own independent municipalities: of this kind are the *Jus Lusatense*, *Jus Lubecense*, *Statuta Hamburgensia*, *Statuta Aquisgranensis et Coloniensis*, *Statuta Goslariensium*, *Bremensium*, &c. Yet we must not suppose that the civil and canon law were to be thus exiled. Some of the provincial codes contained regulations so adverse to the interests of the clergy, that they were loudly denounced by the popes, and the obnoxious passages, if not expunged, at least mitigated, by the authority of Gratian; and in civil matters, many new relations had arisen, to which the Justinian provisions alone were adapted. It was easy to transfuse the spirit of them into the native codes. But what more than all contributed to the diffusion of the Roman jurisprudence, were, the multiplication of legists, and their contempt for every other system: besides, no other system could bring them honours or wealth; and as the emperors, who favoured no other, were still the dispensers of both, we shall not be surprised that chairs were founded for civil law wherever the other faculties, theology, medicine, and philosophy, were taught. We may add, that the same reason led to the study of Gratian; for no church dignity was to be expected by the men who did not endeavour to please those who could confer it,— the popes; or the ecclesiastical princes of the empire. Scholars, thus deeply imbued with the Roman spirit, hastened to the imperial court, and were appointed counsellors or judges. By the Roman law they decided appeals, even from states where that law was execrated. In the moral struggle which commenced between the spirits of the two codes, the legists zealously and not unsuccessfully laboured, “*ut jus patrium magis magisque supprimeretur.*” They soon multiplied, even in the provincial states,— in the courts of the Ger-

manic electors and princes ; and in several produced a complete revolution both in the laws and the forms of process. Thus, Frisia, Brandenburg, Brunswick, and Lunenburg absolutely forsook their native laws for those of Rome. But, on the other hand, other states adhered with unshaken pertinacity to the Germanic system. About the middle of the fifteenth century they urged Frederic III. wholly to abolish the hateful foreign jurisprudence,—to forbid, under rigorous penalties, every doctor from professing it, every tribunal from appealing to its provisions. With how little effect such a demand was made, appeared towards the close of the same century, when the diet of Worms sanctioned many decrees which directly tended to its exaltation over its rival. Subsequently, the imperial constitutions and rescripts, published in furtherance of the objects proposed by the emperors and approved by the diets, tended still more widely to spread the same spirit. In tribunals, however, of the first instance, except where, as before mentioned, the Roman jurisprudence alone was recognised, the Germanic codes were in full vigour ; nor was a foreign law admitted unless in cases — and there were many such — where no provision existed in the native collections.*

In these various codes, the first thing that strikes us is the distinction of social ranks. The fundamental one was, doubtless, into freemen and slaves : but as, in the former class, there was great disparity, it was divided into *ingenui* and *nobiles*, or into the merely free, and those in whom freedom was connected with some civil dignity. The *liberti*, or freedmen of the German nations, were little elevated above slaves, unless, as we sometimes find in regard to the eunuchs of the East, they held some office at court. In this fourfold division, the lowest rank, or slaves, exhibit some difference of

* Lindenbrogius, *Prolegomena in Codicem Legum Antiquarum*. Gol-dasti, *Constitutiones Imperiales*, tom. i—iii. Conringius, *De Origine Juris Germ.* cap. 1—92. Struvius, *Historia Juris Civilis*, *passim*. Leibnitz, *Codex Diplom. Jur. Gent.* tom. i. (*varii instrumentis*) ; and, above all, Heineccius, *De Origine et Progressu Juris Germanici*, lib. ii. cap. 1—4.

condition from their brethren of Rome: though obnoxious in their bodily service to their owners, for whom they were bound to labour, they had yet a legal claim to support from the agricultural stores which they accumulated. Besides the slaves who became so by birth or the fortune of war, anciently any freemen could dispose of his own liberty: if he married a female slave, he incurred the same penalty; if unable to pay his debts, he became the bondsman of his creditors. Slaves were liable to bodily correction by their owners: in the time of Tacitus they were not unfrequently killed under the infliction of the penalty; but subsequently the law interfered for their protection. Manumission generally took place in the churches, or by will, or by a written instrument; and these three modes were also common to the Romans: but there were others peculiar to certain nations. In France it was effected by striking a denarius from the hands of the slave, or by opening the door for him to escape. The Lombards delivered him to one man, this man delivered him to a third, the third to a fourth, who told him he had leave to go east, west, north, or south. The Lombard owner, also, might deliver his slave to the king, that the king might deliver him to the priest, who might manumit him at the altar. Among the same people, the symbol was sometimes an arrow, which, being delivered to the slave, betokened that he was now privileged to bear arms,—the distinguishing characteristic of freedom. The condition of the liberti varied: those who were emancipated before the altar were exempted from every species of dependence. The same may be said of the manumissio per denarium, per quartam manum, per portas patentes; but if per chartam, the libertus obtained a much less share of freedom; if he escaped from personal, he was still subject to other service, and to the jurisdiction of his late owner. The rustic freedman seldom possessed any land; and if he removed, as his new condition allowed him, to any city or town, he was still bound by an annual return to his patron. He could not depose

in a court of justice to that patron's prejudice, nor marry without his consent. The *ingenuus*, who enjoyed freedom without any civil dignity, and who was privileged to carry arms, often engaged himself as the client of some chief, with whom he fought during war, and administered justice during peace ; if no client, he was still liable to military service, and to assist in the local courts. In other respects his privileges were enviable enough, since he could, however poor, aspire to the highest dignities. The purity of this condition was preserved with jealous care ; and whatever might affect it was visited with vengeful resentment. If, among the Salian Franks, a freeman married a slave, he became a slave. The Ripuarians were still more severe : the woman who had married a slave was offered, by the local judge or court, a sword and a spindle : if she took the former, she must kill her husband ; if the latter, she embraced servitude with him. Greater severity still will be found among the Burgundians, Lombards, and Wisigoths, where the last penalty was generally exacted. But the climax of cruelty must be sought among the Saxons. It is commanded by the laws, says Adam of Bremen, that no unequal marriages be contracted, — that noble marry with noble, freeman with freedwoman, freedman with freedwoman, slave with slave ; for if any one should marry out of his condition, he is punished with death. The nobles, as we have before observed, were usually such in virtue of some high office ; but in the middle ages it was also necessary that they should be so by birth. The term was indifferently applied to prelates and certain abbots, to lords and barons, to dukes and counts, to landgraves and margraves, to marquises and counts palatine, to burggraves, margraves, &c. provided they enjoyed this hereditary accident ; if they did not, they were classed among the *ministeriales*, or ministers of the state. By degrees the honour was extended to all the sons of nobles, to all freemen who held a fief, and who rode a horse at their own expense to battle. Such were the four classes of Germanic society

during the greater part of the middle ages. As towns were multiplied, and privileges obtained by the inhabitants, a fifth, that of *burghers*, sprang into existence, distinct from all the rest. On these privileges, so great is their number, so complex their relations, it is impossible to dwell in this place ; we may, however, observe, that, as such corporations were established for the furtherance of commerce, the persons of merchants were as much protected as those of pilgrims or priests : that each corporation had its *jus fori et nundinarum*, or right of fairs and markets ; its *jus stapulæ*, or right of forcing foreign merchants to expose their goods for sale ; its *jus geranii*, or right of unloading merchandise with a crane ; and its peculiar right of monopoly, which excluded all from exercising any branch of industry within its walls who were not qualified by certain arbitrary conditions. They who were not thus qualified took up their abode in the suburbs, and were confined to the meaner callings.*

That the jurisprudence of Germany was generally very different from that of Rome, is apparent from almost every title in the elements of both. This is particularly the case in regard to husbands and wives, to parents and children : the wives participated in civil rights ; the children escaped from the *patria potestas* on their reaching maturity. As in Rome, so in Germany, espousals—always with the consent of the parents or guardians—preceded nuptials : they were effected in some nations by the delivery of a piece of money to the betrothed, accompanied by a formula of words, and by a present to her parents or kindred, as if she were purchased by the man ; and they were indissoluble, except for rape or some other urgent cause. Marriages took place at a

* *Ducange, Glossarium, v. Servus, Libertus, Nobilis, Manumisso, &c.* *Marculfus, Formule, lib. i. 39.* *Codex Legis Longobardorum, lib. ii. tit. 18, lib. ii. tit. 34, et lib. iii. cap. 4.* *Paulus Warnefridus, De Gestis Longob. lib. i. cap. 13.* *Lex Ripuariorum, tit. 57, 58, 61, 62, &c.* *Baluzius, Capitularia Regum Francorum, tom. ii. p. 905.* *Lex Salica, tit. i. &c.* *Lex Burgundionum, tit. 35, &c.* *Adamus Bremensis, Historia Ecclesiastica, lib. i. cap. 5.* *Lex Alamannorum, tit. 17.* *Heineccius, Elementa Juris Germanici, lib. i. tit. 1-5.*

mature age : after the ceremony at church, the bridegroom and bride, in presence of the witnesses, were obliged for a moment *se in toro recipere*, — a custom peculiar to the Germanic nations.* Another singular custom was the delivery by the husband to the wife, on the morning following the marriage, of a certain gift which was then called *donum matutinum*, or *morgen-gaba*; and that this was distinct from the dowry, has been abundantly proved by German antiquarians. Its quantity was not uniform ; the Lombards restricted it to a fourth part of the bridegroom's substance. A third distinguishing mark of these marriages was, that the guests, who were always numerous, should each present the couple with a gift according to his means. In some cases we find these gifts to have been considerable ; generally gold, silver, horses, or oxen. No marriage could be celebrated without a dowry, which was presented by the bridegroom to the bride, and the value of which depended, of course, on his means and station in life. It became her chief resource in the event of her surviving him, and was intrusted to the care of her own kindred. But though unequal marriages were so rigorously prohibited in ancient times, certain it is that, in times more recent, the great evaded the prohibition with regard to *second* marriages ; they could marry a woman far below their dignity, even if she were their concubine, but only on this condition,— that the issue of such a union should not inherit equally with the children of a former marriage ; in other words, that such issue should be considered illegitimate. By some modern writers, women thus circumstanced have been termed *concubines* ; and the church has been censured for not merely permitting, but sanctioning, such connections. Nothing, however, is more certain than that such unions were as valid, as solemn, and as holy in the sight of Heaven, as if they had been celebrated with ladies of the same rank in life. Divorce was generally permitted in case of adultery, and

* "Femme gagne son douaire à mettre son pied au lit."

where one of the parties, with the other's consent, entered the cloister ; but in neither case, according to the canons, could another marriage be contracted. Originally, indeed, the Franks, the Burgundians, the Saxons, and other people, had no difficulty in passing to second nuptials ; but the custom led to so many abuses, that it was eventually condemned by the civil no less than the canon law. The husband was the natural protector of his wife, who was under his *mundium*, or tutorship, just as minors were under that of their parents or their guardians. And it is worthy of remark that, in the feudal grants, each church and monastery was under the protection of some warrior, generally some powerful baron, who was styled its *tutor* or *advocatus*, and who engaged not only to defend it with his sword, but to obtain justice for it at the court of the sovereign.*

If from the condition of persons we pass to crimes, we shall find a vast and curious field for contemplation. The great principle of the Germanic punishment was pecuniary compensation, as well to the party injured as to the state : but we shall soon perceive that the last penalty was often inflicted in cases where modern justice would scarcely condescend to interfere ; while, on the other hand, light penalties were once sufficient, where now nothing less than death can satisfy the violated law. But this distinction between the ancient and modern systems of punishment is not more striking than that which prevailed among people of the same nation, often of the same country, and among different classes of the same society. To commence with *theft*, which occupies so considerable a space in the codes of all nations, barbaric or enlightened. The Wisigothic code compelled a freeman to return nine-fold the value of the thing stolen, the slave six-fold, and both re-

* Tacitus, *De Moribus Germanorum*, cap. 18. et 22., necnon *Annales*, xlvi. 54. *Lex Saxonum*, tit. 7. *Lex Burgundionum*, tit. 12. 66, &c. *Lex Longobardica*, lib. ii. tit. 1. 8, &c. *Codex Legis Wisigotho*: tm, lib. iii. tit. 1, &c. S. *Gregorius Turonensis*, *Historia Eccles. Franc.* lib. iv. cap. 9. *Jus Provinciale Saxonum*, lib. iii. art. 45. *Heineccius*, *Elementa Juris Germ.* lib. i. tit. 9—13. *Ducange*, *Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, v. *Morgengabe*, *Sponsalia*, *Mundium*, &c.

ceived a hundred stripes.¹ Among the Burgundians a great distinction was properly made between the thieves who used violence, and those who simply carried their booty away: in the former case the penalty was always death, and so even in the latter, if the object stolen were a horse or an ox; but in most other cases the law was satisfied with the restoration of three-fold the value; and if the thief were a slave, he received three hundred stripes.² In like manner among the Franks the graver offence was punished with death³, while the minor was redeemed by money, unless the offender were a slave, and unable to pay the mulct; in this case, stripes, or even castration, followed.⁴ Among the Bavarians the penalty was hanging, if the value of the thing stolen equalled ten sols; and even then compensation was to be made from the malefactor's substance.⁵ Minor thefts were atoned for by a mulct of nine times the value, unless the thing were stolen from a church, or the palace of the prince, when twenty-seven times the value was exacted.⁶ The Alamanni, or Suabians, were less severe: for graver thefts, nine times the value was deemed sufficient; for minor ones, a few sols⁷; but if the theft were from a religious edifice or a palace, the mulct was twenty-seven-fold.⁸ The Saxons were savage: under the value of *three* sols, the reparation was nine-fold; above that sum, death: and the last penalty was exacted on the thief discovered in the house or precincts of the man he intended to rob.⁹ The Angles and the Werins were satisfied with the restoration of the value three-fold.¹⁰ The Frisians also thought a pecuniary penalty sufficient, of 80 sols from a noble, of 40 from an *ingenuus*¹¹; but if the

¹ Codex Leg. Wisig. vii. 2. 1. 13.

² Lex Burgund. tit. 29. 1. 3., et tit. 70. 1. 1.

³ Lex Ripuar. tit. 79.

⁴ Lex Salica, tit. 3—12. “At quid castrationi, inquis, cum furto? Id quidem me nescire fatebor, sed non magis tu fortassis scies quid furto cum patibulo et laqueo?” — *Heinec.* ii. cap. 44.

⁵ Lex Baivar. tit. 8. cap. 8.

⁶ Lex Baivar. cap. 9. 1. 1.

⁷ Lex Alaman. tit. 69. 1. 1, 2., tit. 70. 1. 1, 2, 3., et tit. 75. 1. 99.

⁸ Ibid. tit. 7. 1. 1., tit. 32.

⁹ Lex Saxonum, tit. 4. 1. 1—7.

¹⁰ Lex Anglorum, tit. 8. 1. 1.

¹¹ Lex Fris. tit. 3. 1. 2—4.

thief were a slave, he was whipped to death, unless his owner would redeem his skin by four sols.¹ But, mild as this people were in this respect, they visited sacrilege with terrific vengeance: the culprit was taken to the sea-shore, where, after his ears were cropped, he was castrated, and immolated to the gods.² Among the Lombards, the offence was minutely graduated by the rank of the culprit and the circumstances of the case: in general, a restitution eight or nine fold, with a heavy pecuniary mulct for the royal treasury, was deemed sufficient to satisfy justice; and if he were unable to pay, he died.³ Frederic I. made hanging the invariable penalty where the value reached five sols; when it fell short, branding and stripes.⁴ The same punishment was sanctioned by the provincial law of Saxony⁵, by that of Suabia⁶, and by the statutes of many cities.⁷ But subsequent legislators, from Charles V. downwards, would not sanction the last penalty unless the theft were accompanied by burglary or violence, or the repetition of a former offence.⁸

In regard to damage done to the property of others, all the barbaric codes are minute in specifying the amount of compensation, and, where none could be given, as in the case of a slave, that of stripes. As the offence was at once a public and private injury, both the royal treasury and the party aggrieved shared in the redress. These, however, we shall not notice, but proceed to such as affected the person, kindred, or character of men. Originally, the plaintiff called his family and friends to assist him in obtaining revenge⁹; but, as in the fury of passion, such a course would soon have led to the weakening, perhaps even to the extermination, of society, the duty of vengeance was transferred from the

¹ Lex Fria. tit. 3. l. 7.

² Ibid. Addit. Sup. tit. 12. l. 1.

³ Lex Longobard. lib. i. tit. 25.

⁴ Libri Feudorum, lib. ii. tit. 27. l. 8.

⁵ Jus Provinciale Saxonicum, lib. ii. art. 13.

⁶ Jus Prov. Suevicum, cap. 114.

⁷ Jus Lusat. 25. Statuta Goslar. lib. ii.

⁸ Heineccius, Elementa Juris Germanici, lib. ii. tit. 19.

⁹ Tacitus, de Moribus Germ. cap. 21. Saxo Grammaticus, Historia, lib. v. (Frotho, Rex.)

party aggrieved to the public magistrate. Respecting *verbal* injuries the Visigothic code says little, except that, if a slave calumniates a noble, he shall receive eighty, if one less than noble, fifty stripes.¹ In regard to *real* injuries, the most usual penalty was the talion, unless the parties settled the matter by amicable compensation. Slaves, and liberti who could not pay, were striped, and either the same punishment or slavery was the penalty of the poor ingenuus.² The Burgundians punished the man who bound with cords a free-man, by a mulct of 12 sols, a freedman by 6. a slave by 3, and by the same sum to the judge.³ If a free-man insulted a woman by pulling her hair, he paid a similar mulct, according as she was free, freed, or enslaved.⁴ If the injury were committed by a slave, he received, for a free-woman, two hundred, for a freed-woman, one hundred, for a female slave, seventy-five stripes.⁵ The Salic law rated verbal injuries more highly: it minutely fixes the penalty for various obnoxious words, which an English ear would not tolerate.⁶ In regard to real injuries, it regulates, with no less minuteness, the amount of the reparation. The loss of a hand, a foot, a tongue, an eye, or an ear, was atoned by 100 sols; that of the thumb, 30; of the fore-finger, 35; of the other fingers, 15.⁷ After regulating other offences, "Si quis ingenuus ingenuum castraverit, aut virilia truncaverit, ut mancus fiat, sol. c. culp. jud."⁸ The Suabians, without paying much regard to verbal injuries,—probably, however, men were prone enough to resent them,—punishes *real* ones with equal rigour, especially such as were committed on ecclesiastics and women: a bodily injury done to a bishop was rated like that to a general; and the amount fell according as the sufferer was a presbyter, deacon, or monk.⁹ He who, on the highway, uncovered a virgin's face, paid one sol; if a married woman, two sols.¹⁰

¹ Codex Leg. Wisig. lib. vi. tit. 4.

² Ibid. tit. 4.

³ Lex Burgund. tit. 32.

⁴ Ibid. tit. 33. l. 1.

⁵ Ibid. l. 2.

⁶ Lex Salica, tit. 32.

⁷ Ibid. tit. 31.

⁸ Ibid. l. 18.

⁹ Lex Alamannica, tit. 12—16.

¹⁰ Ibid. tit. 58.

The Bavarians decreed similar punishments, and in regard to offences committed against women, they are more minute. Thus, whoever placed his foot in a woman's bed by force, was fined 12 sols¹, and for other insults in proportion.² In the laws of the Saxons, Angles, and Frisians, we find little relating to verbal injuries, doubtless because individuals were allowed to resent them without the interference of the law; bodily damage, however, is estimated with the same minuteness as in other codes.³ Thus, among the Angles, if any one killed an adeling (etheling), he paid 600 sols; if a freeman, 200; if a slave, 30.⁴ And if he denied the charge, he swore with a jury of twelve men, or of five, according as the deceased was free or enslaved. In fact, in most barbarous tribes, homicide was redeemable by a composition in money. If he struck an adeling, he was mulcted in 30; if a freeman, in 10 sols, or he swore with five⁵; and if he broke a bone of the adeling, the penalty was 90, or the oath with twelve men; if of a freeman, 30, or an oath with six.⁶ The loss of a member was in like manner estimated by the dignity of the sufferer.⁷ In the middle ages, men, whether noble or simply free, avenged themselves by arms; nor could emperor or duke wrest justice from the hands of individuals.⁸

The *crimes against chastity* are minutely graduated in these barbaric codes. Thus, in regard to adultery, the Visigothic code permitted the husband to kill his wife, the father his daughter, together with the paramour, if caught in the act.⁹ If not caught in the act by either of the parties most interested, the affair was taken before the ordinary tribunals: on conviction, the man and woman were delivered over to the husband or

¹ Lex Baivar. tit. 7.

² "Si quis propter libidinem liberæ manum injecerit, aut virginis seu uxori alterius, cum 6 sol. componet. Si indumenta super genicula elevaverit, cum 12 sol. comp." — *Ibid.*

³ Lex Saxonum, cap. I.

⁴ Lex Anglica, tit. 1.

⁵ Lex Anglica, tit. 2.

⁶ *Ibid.* tit. 4.

⁷ *Ibid.* tit. 5. "Qui adalingo unum aut ambos testiculos excusserit, 300 sol. componet. Si libero, 100 sol. comp. vel juret ut superius." — *I. 6.*

⁸ Heineccius, Elementa Juris Germanici, lib. ii. tit. 22.

⁹ Lex Wisig. lib. iii. tit. 4. 1, 4, 5.

wife whose honour had been injured, their persons reduced to slavery, their substance confiscated.¹ By the same code, fornication was more mildly visited : the man was compelled either to marry the woman, or to make her a pecuniary compensation.² A worse offence, the *nefanda venus*, was punished by privation of virility, by seclusion in the dark dungeon of a monastery, and by liberty to the wife to enter on another marriage.³ But for the punishments awarded to this species of crime, we refer to a former work, in which an analysis of that code may be found.⁴ They were punished with more severity by the Ostrogoths, who not only put both offenders to death, but even all who were privy to the crime.⁵ As to fornication, the same edict made a great distinction between the guilt of a freeman and a slave, no less than between the injury received by a free-woman or a bond-woman. The noble bachelor who violated a free virgin was bound either to marry her, or to endow her with the fifth part of his patrimony.⁶ If the noble were married, he was mulcted in a third of his substance ; and if the offender were neither noble nor rich, his life was the penalty.⁷ The slave who sinned with a free-woman, even if she were willing, was burnt alive.⁸ In regard to adultery, the Burgundians suffered both offenders to be slain, if detected in the act ; but, if one only was slain, the husband or father was fined for the death.⁹ This summary vengeance, indeed, was not approved, but it was allowed to the violence of human passion. Fornication was more mildly visited : the virgin who willingly suffered it was noted as infamous, while the man escaped with a mulct of 15 sols.¹⁰ Incest was also punishable by a fine to the next of kin.¹¹ Anciently the Franks visited the adulterer with a mulct of 200 sols¹², but under the Carlovingians

¹ Lex Wisig. l. 13.

² Ibid. l. 7.

³ Ibid. lib. iii. tit. 5. l. 5.

⁴ See History of Spain and Portugal, vol. iv. (CAR. CTC.)

⁵ Edictum Theodorici, l. 38.

⁶ Edictum Theodorici, l. 59.

⁷ Ibid. l. 60.

⁸ Ibid. tit. 44. l. 1.

⁹ Lex Burgund. tit. 68. l. 1, 2.

¹⁰ Ibid. tit. 36. l. 1.

¹¹ Lex Salica, tit. 14. l. 12. Lex Ripuar. 35. l. 1.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Lex Burgund. tit. 68. l. 1, 2.

the offence was capital, with a confiscation of substance.¹ Their canon law was no less severe. The adulteress who revealed her crime under the seal of confession was enjoined a penance of seven years, of which three were on bread and water; the adulterer was only three years excommunicated.² Fornication is visited by the Salic law too indulgently: he who forced a maiden, paid 62 sols; a maiden betrothed, 200; but if with her own consent, 45 only.³ If he sinned with a slave, 15 sols; and if a slave forced a slave, he paid 3 sols, or received 120 stripes.⁴ The laws of the Bavarians in this report were more remarkable. There was no capital penalty, unless both parties were detected and killed in the act: a composition to the husband sufficed.⁵ If a freeman sinned with the free wife of another, the penalty was the weregeld of 160 sols, payable to the injured husband⁶: 40 only if the woman were liberta, 4 only if she were a slave.⁷ If the free woman were single, and even willingly endured the dishonour, the mulct was 12 sols, or he was compelled to marry her.⁸ But this code had no punishment, except such as ecclesiastical law provided, for the freeman who violated a female unmarried slave. The slave, however, who violated a free maiden was surrendered to her parents, to do with him what they pleased, even to put him to death.⁹ This criminal leniency towards crimes committed against slaves, this severity towards crimes committed by that unfortunate class, characterises more or less all the Germanic codes. The laws of the Suabians also permitted pecuniary compensation for adultery and fornication.¹⁰

¹ Capitularia Regum Francorum, lib. vi. l. 431.

² Idem, lib. viii. l. 382.

³ Lex Salica, tit. 14. l. 13, 14.

⁴ Idem, tit. 27. l. 1. 5.

⁵ Lex Baivar. tit. viii. cap. 1.

⁶ Lex Baivar. tit. 7. cap. 1.

⁷ Ibid. cap. 10. 12.

⁸ Ibid. cap. 8. l. 1.

⁹ Ibid. cap. 9. l. 1.

¹⁰ "Si qua libera foemina vadit in itinere suo inter duos villas, et obviavit eam aliquis, et per raptum denudat caput ejus, cum 6 sol. componat. Et si ejus vestimenta levaverit, ut usque ad genicula denudet, cum 6 sol. comp. et si eam denudaverit ut genitalia ejus apparent, vel posteriora, cum 12 sol. comp."

"Si autem cum ea fornicaverit, contra ejus voluntatem, comp. sol. 40.

"Si autem mulieri haec fecerent, omnia dupliciter comp. sicut anteā diximus de virgine." — *Lex Alaman.* tit. 58. l. 1, 2, 3.

Both they and the preceding visit incest more severely : the rich offender lost his whole substance, the poor one became a slave attached to the royal domain. The Saxons have one law only respecting this class of offences,—that he who violated the wife, the daughter, or the mother of his lord, should be dealt with as that lord pleased.¹ This and similar omissions which we perceive at every step in the less considerable codes, give rise to some reflection. Were these crimes so common as to be scarcely noticed ? This would be at variance with all that we know of the Saxons, whom Salvian truly calls “ crudelitate efferos, sed castitate mirandos.”² Or must the fact be explained by the well known maxim, “ Que simul aut bis fiunt, ea præterire soleant legislatores ?” This hypothesis is exceedingly probable : but there is also another, entitled to no less weight,—that the Saxons had a common or unwritten law, which regulated their conduct and the decisions of their tribunals, and that their written or statute law, for which they were indebted to the Carlovingian emperors, was merely designed to supply the defects of the former. The Frisian law seems to have no provision for adultery,—a fact that confirms the hypothesis just made ; but the noble virgin or ingenua who suffered violation was compelled to pay a fine to the king³, and he who violated a virgin slave paid 4 sols to her owner. If she had been dishonoured once before, the mulct was lowered to 3 ; if twice before, to 2 ; if three times, to 1 only.⁴ The omission of adultery in the Frisian law, where simple fornication is never left unpunished, has led some antiquaries to investigate the matter ; and it has been found that the law left the punishment to her husband after the guilt was established ; that he could whip her to death, or kill her with his sword.⁵ That is, where the statute law was silent, the common or unwritten law spoke, since the former was only in-

¹ Lex Saxonum, tit. 3. 1. 3.

² Salvianus, *de Gubernatione Dei*, lib. vii. p. 239.

³ Lex Frisica, tit. 9. 1. 1.

⁴ Ibid. 1. 3, 4.

⁵ Siecama, *nota ad Leg. Fris.* (*apud Heinec.*)

tended to supply the defects of the latter. The Lombards punished adultery with death, or delivered the parties to the offended husband, to deal with them as he thought proper.¹ If both the culprits were single and free, the maiden might be disinherited by her parents; and he was either compelled to marry her, or to pay 100 sols, of which half went to the royal treasury, the other half to the parents.² If the maid were a slave, and one of the dominant nation, the mulct was 20 sols; if a Roman, 10 only.³ But as on this subject we have before written⁴, we proceed to subsequent periods. As the Saxons, in their ancient state, had scarcely any written punishments for this class of offences, such also was the case in the middle ages: the *Jus Provinciale Saxonum* merely alludes to the punishment of those caught in the fact⁵, but the *Jus Provinciale Suevicum* is clearer, since it condemns the culprits to death, whether caught in the fact or convicted by legal formalities.⁶ In both cases there was a common unwritten law, which minutely prescribed the graduation both of offence and of punishment. The *Jus Lubecense* was milder in regard to adultery: the mulct for the first offence was sixty marks, but a repetition of the crime was more severely visited.⁷ Fornication was punished with fine or death by the code of Suabia⁸, but in Lubeck the ravisher was bound either to marry or to endow the maiden; and if he were unable to pay the mulct, imprisonment, bread and water, were his doom.⁹ But as the Roman jurisprudence gained ground in Germany, many states adopted its provisions respecting adultery and fornication; and this fact sufficiently accounts for the omission of such penalties in the Germanic codes of the middle ages. Thus the adulterer was beheaded¹⁰, while the adulteress was whipped and

¹ Lex Longobard. lib. i. tit. 32. 1. 2—7.

² Ibid. tit. 31. 1. 1, &c.

³ Ibid.

⁴ See Vol. I. chap. i. LOMBARDY.

⁵ Jus Prov. Saxon. lib. ii. art. 13. “Die in ebbrecherey begriffen werden, den soll man allen die haupter abschlagen.”

⁶ Jus Prov. Suev. cap. 114. 1. 10. et cap. 148. 1. 27.

⁷ Jus Lubec. part iv. tit. 6. art. 2.

⁸ Jus Prov. Suev. cap. 20.

⁹ Jus Lubec. lib. iv. tit. 5.

¹⁰ L. 31. 1. 1. C. ad Leg. Jul. de Adult.

history, we read of men setting fire to the houses of their enemies, to consume all within. That this was a favourite mode of vengeance with the Merovingian kings, is evident from Gregory of Tours and Fredeard; and with the Scandinavians, is equally clear from their sagas. By the Lombards homicide was admitted to composition, very few cases excepted¹; and the same composition was allowed in cases of death by poison, until Henry II. made the penalty death, with confiscation of goods.² The manly sense of the same people made them despise the numerous tales about sorcery, and inflict heavy pecuniary mulcts on such as put reputed witches to death.³ If we come down to the Germanic codes of the middle ages, we shall find that, until the twelfth century, homicide was not a capital offence, except in a few special cases. In that century we find it capital in the codes of Suabia and Saxony, and in the imperial constitutions from Frederic Barbarossa downwards⁴, especially in those states where the Roman law was received. Yet this was not universal; for instances may be found even in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries where composition was admitted for murder.⁵ Incendiaries were subjected somewhat earlier to the capital penalty; and those convicted of poisoning were doomed to the flames.⁶ In this place we cannot be expected to enter into the progress of Germanic legislation from Charles V. downwards: we can only observe, that, in all the revolutions of the diet as contained in the imperial decrees, there continued to be a still greater approximation towards the Roman jurisprudence, and consequently in an equal degree a departure from that of Germany.⁷

Among homicides, we have not included the cases at

¹ Lex Longobard. lib. i. tit. 3. 9. 11. See History of Lombardy, vol. i. p. 14. ² Ibid. tit. 3. 1. 4, 5. tit. 9. 1. 6, 7. 39.

³ Ibid. lib. i. tit. 11. 1. 9.

⁴ Jus provinciale Suevicum, cap. 114. Jus Prov. Sax. lib. ii. art. 13.

⁵ Statuta Dithmarsiensia. Chronicon Lunenburgense (apud Leibnitz. Scriptores, tom. iii. p. 213.).

⁶ Jus Sax. et Suev. ubi supra. Leges Obstalbernicæ, 1. 3.

⁷ Lindenbrogius, Codex Legum Antiquorum, passim. Heineccius. Elementa Juris Germanici, lib. ii. tit. 26. cap. 247—270.

which nature more commonly revolts, — parricide, fratricide, infanticide, and others of the same kind. Yet though such were exceedingly rare, they were far from unknown to the Germanic nations. What is most remarkable is, that they were not always visited with the last penalty ; that the assassin of a father might escape, where the murderer of a priest was sure to be executed. The crime was capital among the Wisigoths, unless the assassin sought sanctuary ; and even then he was delivered over to the next kindred, to be dealt with, salvâ animâ, as they thought proper.¹ Death was also the penalty of infanticide², generally even at the time of birth ; or if the judge spared the midwife, she lost her eyes.³ Of these crimes little is said by the laws of the Burgundians, Bavarians, and Franks, doubtless either because they were considered impossible, or because they were amply provided for in their unwritten observances ; for we must never forget, that the published law only supplied the imperfections of the common. But the Bavarians had a singular provision for abortion : the pecuniary mulct was not only to be paid *annually* by the man who caused the abortion, but annually by his descendants to the seventh generation ; for as the child or fœtus had not been baptized, and as its doom was, consequently, everlasting fire, no ordinary penalty should meet such a crime.⁴ Parricide is equally, and for the same reason, passed over by the Angles and Saxons ; but not so by the Frisians, who appear to have been the first people among whom this revolting crime was not capital. “ If any one,” says the law, “ kill his father, let him lose his inheritance ; if any one kill his brother, let him compensate to the next of kin.”⁵ Yet, contrary to the opinion of all German jurisconsults, we almost doubt whether this law be not intended merely to add increased rigour to the common or unwritten one, —

¹ Lex Wisig. tit. 5, l. 17—19.

² Ibid. lib. iv. tit. 4. l. 1.

³ Ibid. lib. vi. tit. 3. l. 7.

⁴ Lex Baivar. tit. 7. cap. 18, 19. This is bolder than the opinion of St. Augustine, who only doubted whether such iufants could arrive at the beatific vision.

⁵ Lex Frisica, I. 1, 2.

that the criminal should not only die, but his offspring be deprived of the inheritance to which he would have succeeded. This interpretation may appear forced, and, indeed, we do not insist on it; but it seems strange that the only *statute* law directly bearing on the point, and apparently screening the culprit, should come from the Frisians alone. The Frisians, however, were a horrid people; for they certainly allowed even the infant to be exposed, or put to death, provided it had not sucked the breast of its mother.¹ The Lombards placed the life of the parricide at the disposal of the king²; yet, in the addition made by the emperor Henry II., we read only that he was deprived of his inheritance, and compelled to practise the penance imposed by the bishop.³ If a wife confessed the death of her husband, and the design was discovered, she was placed completely at his disposal.⁴ In the twelfth century we find the Lex Pompeia fully in force.⁵ Infanticide was also terribly visited on the wretched mother, who was buried alive, and a stake thrust through her body.⁶ Subsequently we find some changes in the mode of punishment, as regarded both parricide and infanticide; sometimes the culprits were dragged by red-hot forceps to the place of execution; but the unnatural mother, even if she were only guilty of producing abortion, was often sewed in a sack, and thrown into a river.⁷ In Saxony, even at a late period, a viper, monkey, and dog, were sewed in the same sack; and at a later period, too, in Siberia and Lusatia, the living grave and stake were in use.⁸ In different places, a difference of punishment must necessarily have existed; for a river was not always at hand to receive the sack and its guilty inmate.⁹

The preceding extracts from the Germanic codes will

¹ Lex Frisica, tit. 5. Alfredus, Vita S. Ludgeri, cap. 6.

² Lex Longob. lib. i. tit. 10. l. 1, 2.

⁴ Ibid. tit. 3. l. 6.

³ Ibid. l. 4.

⁵ See the Codex Justin. l. 9. pr. d. ad Leg. Pomp. de Par.

⁶ Constit. Crimin. art 131.

⁷ Ibid. art. 137. Nemesia Carolina, 133.

⁸ Kressius, Constitut. Crimin. art. 131.

⁹ Lindenbrogius, Codex Legum Antiquarum, passim. Heineccius, Elementa Juris Germanici, lib. ii. tit. 27.

suffice to give the reader a tolerable idea of their spirit. That this spirit was generally humane, since in most places pecuniary composition was accepted for even heinous crimes, is indisputable; yet often severe punishments were inflicted, especially among the Wisigoths, and every where on slaves. Fire¹, the gallows², the axe³, the wheel⁴, stoning, drowning, immolation on the sea-shore⁵, mutilation of eye or limb⁶, the talion⁷, flagellation⁸, perpetual imprisonment⁹, banishment¹⁰, infamy¹¹, confiscation of goods¹², fines¹³, characterise the more ancient codes, and are often to be found in those of the middle ages.¹⁴ In process of time the most usual capital punishments were hanging, breaking on the wheel, burning alive, and beheading; and, next to these, burying alive, drowning, with gibbeting, quartering, and exposing the dissected limbs.¹⁵

The jurisprudence of FRANCE down to the time of St. Louis is contained in the above extracts; for that the codes of the Franks and the Burgundians were in force many reigns after the accession of Hugh Capet is indisputable, from the chroniclers of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. Different ordinances, indeed, were from time to time necessary to meet the wants of the feudal system. The "Establishments" of that admirable monarch (St. Louis) were devised on the one part to extend the authority of the crown at the expense of

¹ Codex Legis Wisig. lib. iii. tit. 4. l. 14. Lex Sal. tit. 80. l. 1.

² Lex Ripuar. tit. 79. Lex Sax. tit. 2. l. 8. tit. 3. l. 1.

³ Lex Rip. ubi supra. ⁴ Vita S. Eligii, lib. ii. cap. 31.

⁵ S. Greg. Turon. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 44. Lex Fria ad tit. 12. Nithardus, De Dissension. Ellior. Theganus, De Gestis Ludov. cap. 53.

⁶ Lex Wisig. lib. ii. tit. 1. lib. vi. tit. 3. lib. 7. tit. 5, 6. lib. xli. tit. 3. Leg. Baivar. lib. i. cap. 6. Lex Burgund. tit. 6. Lex Longob. lib. i. tit. 25. 28. cum multis alia.

⁷ Lex Wisig. lib. vi. tit. 4. l. 3. Lex Baivar. tit. 8. cap. 17. l. 1.

⁸ Lex Wisig. lib. ii. tit. 2. Lex Longob. lib. i. tit. 17. Capit. Reg. Franc. lib. vii. l. 335. Lex Baiv. tit. 8. cap. 6. Lex Sal. tit. 43. l. 1.

⁹ Lex Wisig. lib. iii. tit. 5. l. 5. lib. vi. tit. 2. l. 3. Capit. Reg. Franc. lib. vi. l. 96.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Lex Wisig. lib. ii. tit. 1. l. 7. Lex Burgund. tit. 44. l. 1.

¹² Lex Wisig. ubi supra. Lex Alaman. tit. 39. l. 1. Lex Baivar. lib. vi. tit. 1. l. 2. Lex Rip. tit. 69. cap. 1. Lex Longob. lib. ii. tit. 8. cum multis alia.

¹³ In all the codes. ¹⁴ Jus Saxon. Jus Suev. in multis locis.

¹⁵ Nemesis Carol. art. 110, 111, 112, 124, 131, 159, 192, &c. Heineccius, Elementa Juris Germanici, lib. ii. tit. 30.

the feudal judges, on the other, to banish the judgments of God,—the ordeals, especially the judicial combat, by introducing into the tribunals a rational system of evidence. The legists whom he invited to his court were deeply imbued with the spirit of the Roman law ; and were, in an equal degree, hostile to that of Germany. That, under such circumstances, the former should be made to supplant the latter, was to be expected ; the change was, indeed, more rapid than might have been inferred from the actual position of things, especially from the known hostility of the great vassals to any change. The power of the crown, and the efforts of the new lawyers, surmounted every obstacle. By the privilege of appeal from every tribunal in the kingdom to that of the monarch, not only was an effectual check put on the exercise of local tyranny, but these tribunals were at once rendered subordinate to the crown, the great source of justice. But there were a number of cases which, even in the first instance, were cognisable by the royal judges only, who had been instituted by Philip Augustus. These, which were called *royal cases*, had not been clearly defined : in general they regarded the usual rights of sovereignty as laid down in the feudal law ; but the legists discovered, that as a king had long arms, his jurisdiction ought of right to embrace every subject which concerned the peace of society. All men were allowed to sue their feudal superiors in the royal courts ; all were even exempted from a *necessary* dependence on those of the local superiors. The foundation of royal power had been laid by Philip Augustus ; it was extended and fortified by St. Louis ; and, by subsequent monarchs, it was carried to perfection,—unto an irresponsible despotism. In other respects, the “ Establishments” have little claim to our admiration. As a code, they are without method or connection ; sometimes dark, always rude, generally rigorous. It was no doubt necessary, that in many cases capital punishments should be substituted for the pecuniary compensations which had so long been found ineffectual for preserving the peace

of society ; perhaps, too, in the then unsettled state of things, when power was grown insolent by habit, and when laws were little respected, some rigorous penalties were advisable. But, with all such allowances, we must condemn the laws of St. Louis as wantonly severe. Had he reserved the gallows for murder, incendiaryism, rape, treason, and burglary alone, he would have been amply justified ; but by extending the same punishment to robbery in forests and on the highways, to stealing in a dwelling-house, to the theft of a horse or mare, to the repetition even of some minor offences, to an escape from prison, he proved that, with all his piety, with all his virtues — and no prince had ever more — he could be vindictive. Still worse, however, were his enactments in regard to heretics, to infanticides, and to women associated with robbers, all whom he condemned to the stake. In regard to petty thefts, the penalty was regulated by the circumstances of the case, but in all it was outrageously rigorous ; for the first offence, loss of an ear ; for the second, of the hand ; for the third, death ; but if the first took place in a church, the penalty was loss of eyes ; and the same fate was reserved for the coiner of false money. If a vassal struck his lord before the lord struck him, he lost his hand. Confiscation of substance was denounced against offences, which in our days would not be visited with a week's imprisonment ; and heavy fines were exacted where now a slight reprimand would meet the views of justice. The judicial proceedings corresponded with the laws. Bail was allowed only in minor cases ; the accuser was imprisoned in as deep a dungeon as the accused ; though the former was not subject to torture, — the ordinary commencement of examination in regard to the latter who persisted in his declaration of innocence. That Louis himself administered justice with unreasonable severity is too evident from his biographer Guillaume de Nangis. He one day ordered a man who had been convicted of a blasphemous oath to be deeply branded with a red-hot iron on the lips, —

"that he might have," says the chronicler, with evident satisfaction, "a perpetual memorial of his sin." Another act of justice gave more general satisfaction. Two young Flemings, with their preceptor, on a visit to the abbey of St. Nicholas, one day hunted in the grounds, and pursued their game into those of the lord de Coucy. That nobleman, "who strictly preserved his game," hung all three,—a penalty awarded by the ancient feudal laws, but one which was no longer to be tolerated. The first impulse of the king was to hang the baron on the same spot; but the representations of his friends convinced him that this would incense the whole body of feudal nobles, who claimed the right to be tried by their peers. Besides, the culprit was connected with the proudest families of France, and all joined in begging for his life. At length it was reluctantly granted him, but on the threefold condition of a heavy fine, of his renouncing his feudal rights, and of a three years' pilgrimage to the Holy Land. This monarch, with all his respect for the church, was no less anxious to circumscribe the immunities of the clergy. Their subjection to their own tribunale alone, and their consequent comparative impunity—for the penalties inflicted by those tribunals were shamefully inadequate to the offence—were grievances which he resolved to remove. But as a dutiful son of the church, as fearful of incurring the dreaded doom of excommunication, he proceeded cautiously in his great work. The first concession which he wrung from pope Alexander IV. was, that if the royal officers seized an ecclesiastic guilty of homicide or some heinous crime, *for the purpose of taking him before the ecclesiastical tribunals*, they should not be excommunicated,—"though," added the pontiff, ungraciously enough, "we do not in any sense grant the judges such a power, still less do we approve in such a case their detention of a clerical prisoner." In a subsequent communication the king was more pressing, and the pontiff more reasonable; the royal judges were permitted to take cognisance themselves of the more

heinous crimes committed by *married* priests, but not until they were degraded by the canonical tribunals; and in another instrument, all priests who, without possessing a cure of souls, exercised commerce, were declared subject to the lay jurisdiction, unless they renounced their worldly calling. This was all that Louis could wring from Alexander; yet he set an admirable example to his successors, who, by slow but sure degrees, wrested the more obnoxious immunities from the clergy. In their efforts they were greatly assisted by the legists and the temporal barons, who had long endeavoured to reduce these haughty churchmen to their own level,—to the same equality before the laws. The successors of St. Louis were not much affected by the most formidable weapons from the armoury of St. Peter. At one time an excommunicated person was as much shunned as the plague: from the beginning of the fourteenth century downwards, the doom was almost disregarded by the laity, and it did not prevent even such of the prelates as had incurred it from celebrating the divine offices. Into the interminable subject of French law after the time of St. Louis we cannot enter: it would afford little entertainment to the general reader. It may, however, be found in the great collection of the *Ordonnances des Rois*, and in the Commentaries of the French jurisconsults from the close of the thirteenth to the seventeenth century.*

* *Etablissemens de St. Louis*, liv. i. (in multis capitulis). *Ordonnances des Rois* (sub propriis annis). Siamondi, *Histoire des François*, tom. viii. 4me partie, chap. ii. Hallam, *History of Europe during the Middle Ages*, passim.

CHAP. II.

RELIGIOUS AND INTELLECTUAL HISTORY OF FRANCE
AND GERMANY.

I. STATE OF RELIGION, ETC. UNDER THE MEROVINGIAN AND CARLOVINGIAN PRINCES. — THE SECULAR AND MONASTIC CHURCH. — SAINTS — ST. GENEVIEVE — ST. PRETEXTATUS — ST. MAUR — ST. COLUMBANUS — ST. BONIFACE — ST. GREGORY OF Utrecht — ST. STURM — ST. ANSCAR. — INTELLECTUAL STATE OF FRANCE. — ST. AVITUS. — ST. CESARIUS. — ST. GREGORY OF TOURS. — ALCUIN. — HINCMAR. — ERIGENA. — II. FROM THE TENTH TO THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY. — ST. ADALBERT. — ST. OTHO. — ST. BRUNO. — ST. ROBERT. — ST. BERNARD. — ST. NORBERT. — ST. GODEDEF. — ST. ELIZABETH. — INTELLECTUAL STATE OF THE COUNTRY DURING THIS PERIOD.

I. The Merovingian and Carlovingian Periods.

1. THE state of religion and of the church during the five centuries that elapsed from the conversion of Clovis to the accession of Hugh Capet, from 496 to 987, must, to modern Christians, appear most singular. In the kings and nobles we find co-existing with uncommon zeal the darker passions of our nature, — hatred, revenge, concupiscence, and murder; a thirst for blood which was never satiated; a violence which defied alike the laws of society and of God. Perhaps there is no other period in the history of any Christian people so foul for the rankest crimes: it may be doubted whether the worst of the Cæsars exceeded in dark malignity, or in capriciousness of vengeance, the long-haired kings of the Franks. To this truth, briefly as we have adverted to the subject, the reader can have no difficulty in subscribing: it is too striking, from the bloody perfidy of Clovis in regard to the other kings of the nation, to the flagitious deeds of Fredegund, Brunehild*, and their immediate posterity. But this is not the worst:

* At one time, misled by the Spanish authorities, we doubted of this lady's *guilt*, however we might deplore her *imprudence*: that doubt has been dissipated by the French chroniclers.

the examples of some churchmen will prove that such barbarity was not confined to the laity. Nay, even saints, such as Gregory of Tours, and Avitus of Vienne, sometimes exhibit so little indignation amidst atrocities which even at this day fire the heart with indignation, that we may reasonably doubt whether the frequency and magnitude of crime had not blunted their moral sense. Thus, when Gundebald of Burgundy, that he might have no rivals to the throne, had barbarously murdered his three brothers, with the wife at least of one, and their innocent children, and felt contrition for the deed, the bishop of Vienne wrote to console him, by representing that, on removing these rivals, he had been the hidden instrument in the hands of God for securing the happiness of the kingdom. And the indifference with which the bishop of Tours relates such horrors will appear when we come to the examination of his works. Yet, on the other hand, we must not forget that the monks at least, and even the humbler ranks of the secular clergy, contained men sensitively alive to the claims of charity. Not a few lives of the saints exhibit them in the most amiable relation with their fellow-men, — as constantly occupied in repairing the ravages of ferocity. But this fact does not alter the character of the age, which was one of blood and perfidy. That Christianity failed to humanise, will not appear so surprising, if we reflect that men are more influenced by example than by opinions. On a people just reclaimed from heathenism, whose hearts had regarded revenge as the noblest of duties, these opinions would long have little effect. To love our very enemies, to bless those who curse us, in all cases to return good for evil, is the hardest of all lessons, even to a mind the most teachable in an age the most pious; yet, assuredly, to obey it is far easier to us than mere forgiveness of injuries was to the Franks of old. The Christian world at this day might in vain be ransacked for a single man who fulfils that hardest of injunctions, — an injunction which, in its literal sense, is generally regarded as

impracticable. In both cases the root, self-love, is the same, though in our times refinement, and a more rigorous administration of the law, doubtless, too, a greater diffusion of the religious spirit, have softened down its harsher features.*

483 But whatever might be the ferocity of the Franks,
to no people exceeded them in liberality towards the
888. church, or in respect towards its ministers. Religious edifices were raised in amazing numbers, and endowed with profusion, as well by nobles as by kings. As the church increased in wealth, and became more indebted to lay munificence, the exercise of lay influence in its appointments became more tempting and more easy. The Merovingian kings, confiding in an authority which was every where else recognised, no longer scrupled to usurp an ancient right of the chapter and people, — to nominate bishops to the vacant sees ; while by the patron of a benefice the inferior clergy were equally nominated. The latter privilege was sanctioned by the canons of councils, but the former was loudly condemned by the bishops and clergy, though the remonstrance was seldom effectual : the king's nominee generally kept the seat. In time, however, a sort of compromise was effected by the two parties : the election was left to the chapter, but subject to confirmation by the king. Yet we may doubt whether that election, however clear its right, was in practice free. If the king ceased to nominate a courtier priest of his own authority, he seldom failed, when the vacant see was rich enough to tempt his interference, to recommend the favourite, and that recommendation was not in vain. Under the Carlovingians the same right was recognised ; yet under them we find a return to the original abuse, which was more frequently excercised than even by their long-haired predecessors. The truth is, that the right and the fact were at variance with each other, and that the contention ended just as we might expect it to end,

* Sanctus Avitus, Episcopus Viennensis, epistola v. Sanctus Gregorius Turonensis, Historia Ecclesiastica Francorum, lib. ii. iii.

where the real power was all on one side. Thus we have distinct applications by two popes, to Charlemagne and Lothaire, requesting vacant sees for such clergymen as they humbly recommended to the emperors. Thus, too, from two anecdotes in the Monk of St. Gall, we read that Charlemagne exercised an uncontrolled power over the elections. As both are illustrations of the manners of the times, we translate them. The former will show that intrigue was as busy one thousand years ago, for the dignities of the church, as it is at this day.— Of the youths whom he educated in the school attached to his palace,—

“ He made one, who was poor, chaplain and secretary of his chapel. One day the death of a certain bishop was announced to the most prudent Charles, who demanded if the deceased had sent before him, into the next world, any portion of his substance, and of the fruit of his labours.* ‘ Not more than two pounds of silver,’ was the reply. Hearing this, the young clerk, who was present, could not forbear exclaiming, ‘ A poor viaticum this for so great and long a journey!’ Having reflected a few moments, Charles, the most prudent of men, said to the young clerk,—‘ If I should give thee this bishopric, wouldst thou make greater preparations for the journey?’ The other, hastening to devour these wise words, like grapes ripe before the time, and ready to fall into his half-open mouth, knelt at his sovereign’s feet, and replied, —‘ My lord, the decision of this matter must be left to God’s will and your own power.’ —‘ Hide thyself,’ said the king, ‘ behind this curtain, and thou shalt perceive how many rivals thou hast for this honourable post.’ No sooner was the prelate’s death known, than the officers of the palace, eager to profit by the misfortunes or death of any one, envious of each other, and impatient of delay, began to interest in their views the friends of the emperor. But he firmly refused them all, saying that he would never forfeit his word to his young clerk. At length, queen Hildegarde sent the noblest of the kingdom, and afterwards came herself, to beg the bishopric for her own chaplain. He received her solicitation in the most gracious manner, assuring her that he neither could nor would refuse her any thing; but added, that he should never forgive himself for deceiving his young clerk. Like all other women, when they have a point to gain, the queen, concealing her mortification, and softening her voice, which was naturally loud, endeav-

* Alluding to alms-giving, regarded as something like a commutation of sin.

vouring to wheedle by her caresses the firm mind of Charles, said to him, — ‘ My dear prince and lord, why ruin this bishopric by giving it to a boy ? Give it, I beseech you, my sweet master, my glory and support, to my poor chaplain, who is your devoted servant.’ At these words the young man, from behind the curtain, close to which Charles was seated, cried out in a sorrowful tone, but without quitting his hiding place, — ‘ My lord and king, stand firm ! Let no one deprive thee of the power which God has given thee ! ’ Then the prince, a courageous friend of truth, ordered his chaplain to appear, and said, — ‘ Thy wish is granted ; but be careful to send before me and thee into the other world abundant alms, — a suitable viaticum for the long journey whence no man returns.’ ”

The other anecdote is equally indicative of the power of the throne over the church, and equally characteristic of the times : —

“ Another prelate being dead, Charles gave the vacant see to a certain young man, who joyfully prepared to depart. His servants brought him such a horse as agreed with episcopal gravity, — one not over mettlesome, — and they placed him a step-ladder, that he might seat himself comfortably in his saddle. In a great rage that they should think of treating him like some worn-out invalid, he sprang on the beast’s back with such agility, that he was near falling over on the other side. The king, who saw what passed from the balustrade of his palace, sent for the young man, and said to him, — ‘ My brave fellow, thou art spirited, nimble, and well fitted for a horse. The tranquillity of our empire, as thou well knowest, is continually troubled by wars. We have need of a chaplain like thee near our person ; and since thou canst mount a horse so well, remain to share our fatigues.’ ”

But this direct influence of the king in the choice of bishops was chiefly confined to the richer sees ; for during his reign we meet with instances enough where he not only abandoned the exercise of that influence, but distinctly recognised the right of election inherent in the chapter. Nor was this concession the only foundation of the future power of the church. Tithes were instituted ; the clergy were exempted from the lay-tribunals, and subjected to those of their diocesans only ; numerous questions, previously decided by the civil law, and relating to the degrees of kindred, mar-

riage, wills, &c. were declared within the province of ecclesiastical jurisdiction ; and to every church was assigned a parsonage with an adequate manse, exempt from all charges and taxes. In proportion as the bishops extended their influence at court, — they had always been the official advisers of the crown, and after the time of Charlemagne nothing important was undertaken without them, — they no less extended it over the church. As councillors in the palace, as judges within their respective dioceses, they must, of necessity, have possessed great power over their clergy. Another circumstance elevated that power into despotism. Amidst the frequent revolutions which, during the early ages, the Gallic church sustained in its discipline, none were more remarkable than the rise and fall of the metropolitans. From the superior respect attached to the capital of each province, the metropolitan had little difficulty in the restoration of provincial councils ; and he had the consecration of new diocesans, over whose decisions he exercised an appellant jurisdiction. But the suffragan bishops soon took the alarm, and in the provincial councils opposed the pretensions of their superiors with success. They were powerfully supported by the popes, who could not behold without jealousy, nor even without well-founded apprehension, the rapid strides of the metropolitans towards independent patriarchates, and the consequent annihilation of their own authority over the church universal. As the papal consent was necessary before any bishop could exercise the functions of metropolitan, the pallium, the symbol of investiture, was seldom remitted consecutively to two prelates of the same see : sometimes Vienne, sometimes Arles, now Lyons, and next Sens, had the honour. By these united causes, the metropolitan might, indeed, possess a primacy of honour, but none of jurisdiction, beyond what was conferred on him, for a specific purpose, by the assembly of bishops. In these assemblies every thing of importance was transacted. But the bishops were not satisfied with these powers, amply as they were

increased. Their next care was to deprive the inferior clergy of the rights which, from time immemorial, were attached to that character. Their greatest remaining usurpation, and that which rendered all others easy, was the administration of the ecclesiastical property, including the voluntary offerings of the faithful, the tithes attached to the land, and estates which a mistaken piety bequeathed to the service of the altar. That the counsellor of the king, the judge of his ecclesiastics, the disposer of princely revenues, should acquire unbounded power over his clergy, was inevitable. They were as much subject to him, as much his natural vassals, as the slaves of the field were to their lords. That this power degenerated into tyranny, and that the clergy formed confederations to resist it, appear continually from the acts of councils. These acts, in some degree, mitigated the evil; but the chief remedy was furnished first by the monastic orders, and next by the popes.*

- 543 That there were monks in Gaul long before the time
 to of St. Benedict is evident from the unquestionable au-
 987. thority of Gregory of Tours. It is, however, certain
 that prior to the sixth century there was no common
 observance among them; and that though the men, who
 fled from the world to practise unusual austerities were
 held in reverence, the new mode of life did not rise to
 the dignity of an institute, nor obtain any degree of
 organisation. It had, consequently, little influence
 until St. Maur, the favourite disciple of the monastic
 patriarch, laid, in 843, the foundation of the order in
 France. Whether the first establishment was Glan-
 feul in Anjou, or St. Maur-sur-Loire, has been disputed.
 What is far more important, is the fact that the country
 was soon covered with them. At this time the monks
 were as subject to the jurisdiction of the bishops as the

* De Gestis Caroli Magni Regis Francorum, a quodam S. Gall. Monacho, lib. i. cap. 4. et 6. Labbeus, Concilia, tom. v. vi. vii.; necnon Baluzius, Capitularia Regum Francorum (sub annis). Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique, tom. vi. vii. viii. (in multis locis). Guizot, Histoire de la Civilisation en France, tom. ii. et iii. (variis lectionibus).

secular laymen. They had no church of their own, and they attended, like the rest of the world, that of the parish in which they happened to be located. As they elected their own superiors, were governed by their own laws, they were so far independent of the church. But this isolated state was of no long continuance: several causes combined to draw them within the bosom of the ecclesiastical corporation. The bishops were not much pleased to see any vestige of independence: they had riveted their fetters on the clergy; they laboured, during the sixth century especially, to fasten them on the monasteries. One council forbade the monks to leave their cells without the permission of the diocesan; another prohibited the erection of new religious houses without his formal sanction; that of Orleans enjoined the abbots to be humbly submissive towards the bishops, who were regarded as the conservators of discipline, as entitled to watch over the observance of the rule. This last council even prohibited the construction of cells and hermitages without the express authority of the diocesan. This dependent state, however, was not very agreeable to men now become rich by the piety of the faithful, and anxious to be separated from the secular body by distinctions analogous to those which characterised the clergy. The concessions which they obtained appear to have been successively purchased by money. The first was permission to build a church within the walls of the monastery, and consequently to be no longer compelled to attend that of the parish. According to Guizot, a great diver into antiquity, these churches were at first served by secular priests. Before the establishment of the Benedictine order, this might be the case; but the very rule of their founder provides for the reception of priests as novices, who were to perform the service of the altar; and it allows the abbot, where sufficient hands did not exist for the service, to recommend any of his brethren to the bishop for ordination. There can be no doubt that from the death of St. Bene-

dict the institute had monks enough in priest's orders, without the necessity of recurring to seculars. It is certain that this was an impolitic innovation. In their twofold character, as at once monks and clergymen, these men soon began to consider themselves as more excellent than their patrons, as superior to every other class of Christians: they were envied by their monastic brethren, of whom many longed to assume the same character. In vain did the more rigid of the body condemn this fast-spreading desire as a suggestion of the evil one; in vain did they exhort the rest to flee from a bishop as they would from a woman; in vain, too, did the bishops themselves discourage the mania, and almost put an interdiction on the nomination of a monk in orders to the cure of souls: ambition was too powerful to be eradicated; it was probably strengthened by the opposition. Owing to the two causes we have mentioned,—the conversion, as it was called, of priests, and the ordination of monks,—in the eighth century the monks were incorporated with the clergy, and as such still more subject to episcopal jurisdiction. The monastic priest could not enter on his functions; and, when assumed, he could not persevere in them, without the sanction of the bishop. The superintendence of the latter, his frequent visits, his incessant interference even on the slightest occasions, his repeated usurpations, were felt to be galling. Hence the struggle between the monasteries and the bishops, which long continued to distract the church, and which was doubtless the foundation of the dislike still subsisting between the two orders. In some places the former, when expostulation failed, refused to admit the visitorial prelate: but this resistance was immediately followed by their excommunication; and they were glad to remove the dreaded ban by presents and concessions. In return for these presents and concessions, the bishop often granted in writing an immunity from the more grievous abuses under complaint. These charters were so frequent, that a model for their composition is to be

found in the *Formulæ* of *Marculfus*. By the tenor of that instrument, the bishop engages to ordain such monks as should be presented by the abbot and community; to consecrate monastic altars; to confirm superiors, *all without charge*; to refrain from former exactions; to assume no authority other than that recognised by the canons over the substance or persons of the brotherhood, and even never to enter a monastery on other than canonical occasions, except required by the convent. On these occasions, he also solemnly engages, for himself and his successors, not to touch the offerings laid on the altar by the faithful, but without delay, and in a peaceable spirit, to leave the walls when his duty is fulfilled. It does not, however, appear that these charters were always observed by the grantors; for, from the eighth century downwards, we often meet with formal applications to the throne for some better guarantee. Often kings themselves founded monasteries; and when they did so, they did not fail to grant their own charters of immunity, denouncing penalties on such prelates as should presume to harass the inmates. The recognition of such an authority in the crown, naturally led to the extension of such immunities: the monasteries which were not royal foundations hastened to obtain them. Even this expedient did not extirpate the abuse. In some places the royal charters were eluded; in others, the bishops had address enough when a vacancy occurred to procure their own election as abbots. In virtue of this twofold character, they never wanted pretexts for administering, that is, for usurping, the common property of a community. Seeing how partial the benefit arising from royal interference, the monks next applied to the pope, who was not slow to profit by this welcome recognition of his authority over the church universal. His inhibitions protected the complainants; but as violence was still frequently committed, the only way of escape from episcopal tyranny was by placing monasteries on their foundation, under the immediate jurisdiction of the

papal see, and consequently of rescuing them from that of the local bishops. The monastery of Fulda was probably the first which was thus transferred from the latter to the former, and this transfer was the act of a bishop, the famous St. Boniface. In the sequel, the example was followed frequently enough ; but even when it was not, the bishops, sensible that the appellant jurisdiction of the pope would be invoked the first occasion that offered, were constrained to be moderate. Nor was that example confined to the regular or monastic clergy ; it was soon followed by the seculars, who, with equal ease and success, obtained a redress of their grievances by the interference of the pastor universal. However hostile we may feel in the abstract to some pretensions of the papal see, we are constrained to acknowledge that they were often exerted for good ; and that its interference was loudly demanded, not merely by policy, but by necessity. When religion itself was menaced, and where bishops or kings were too powerless or too corrupt to apply a remedy, what authority other than that of the pope—of a dignitary inaccessible to local prejudices and passions—could be invoked with effect ? That such authority was salutarily exercised appears from the difference between the state of the Gallic church at two important periods, — the eighth and the tenth centuries. At the former we perceive perpetual struggles between bishops and their clergy, between seculars and regulars, between church and state. We every where perceive claims actively hostile to each other, rights undefined, open violence and confusion. Charlemagne certainly expelled many of the existing abuses : under his reign the metropolitans again obtained consideration, and councils were frequently convoked ; in fact, many of his capitularies relate as much to the government of the church as to that of the state. During the seventh century, scarcely twenty councils, or one in five years, were held in Gaul : in the forty-six years of his reign he held thirty-three. How well the example was imitated by his immediate successors

is proved by the fact, that under Louis le Débonnaire were held twenty-nine ; under Charles le Chauve, sixty-nine ; and from that period to the accession of Hugh Capet, fifty-six. Most of these councils were convoked by the advice of the pope ; in some cases he himself prepared the canons ; in most, they were drawn up in conformity with his instructions. The result was not, indeed, an extirpation of all abuses, but a harmony which had not been experienced since the time of the Christian emperors of Rome. During this period the liturgy was improved ; an uniform service rendered obligatory ; penitentials, or canonical penalties for offences, were drawn up ; and books of homilies were multiplied to a great extent. The secular clergy, whose irregularities had given scandal to their flocks, were subjected to a new and severe discipline : like the monks, they were taught to live in community, under the authority of a rule. That a communal life had previously been tried both by St. Augustine of Carthage, and by Atto of Vercelli, is well known ; but the institute was revived only, and that for a very limited period, in these two cities. In the west, St. Chrodegand, bishop of Metz, was the first to subject his clergy to a rule, which, though founded on that of St. Benedict, has always been called after his name. His example was speedily imitated by other bishops ; so that in a very few years almost every cathedral had its *canons*, — so called, because they obeyed a *rule*. In 826, the rule of St. Chrodegand was greatly extended, and sent by Louis le Débonnaire to all the metropolitans of his empire, that it might every where serve as the uniform basis of discipline. From this time the lives of the secular clergy became much purer. Subject to an authority always present, that of their prior ; kept in dread by the looks of each other ; compelled to flee from the world, except when their visits to the sick or dying were required ; austere in their observances as the monks themselves, and far more usefully employed, — in the instruction of youth, no less than in their parish

duties,—they were soon regarded with new reverence by the people. As a natural consequence, they became enriched; for when the faithful perceived that their lives were devoted to the good of mankind, they were made to share with their brethren of the cloister the liberality of the pious. We might have supposed that the secular clergy, attached to the world, and often imbued with its vices, would resist their transformation into monks; but of such resistance there is no record, while one powerful reason may be given, why the change should have been hailed with satisfaction. Previous to the institution of this communal life, and of tithes, the bishop, as the steward of his diocese, had the uncontrolled management of the voluntary offerings. We are every where told that he abused his trust; that while he was engrossed by his own luxury and pomp, he left often a precarious, generally an inadequate, subsistence to his clergy. But the institute secured them a comfortable livelihood, without the cares inseparable from their former state; and, in addition, it allowed them the disposal of whatever property they might inherit. The new system was the most important and salutary innovation ever effected in the church; it reformed the whole body of the clergy; it restrained the tyranny of the bishops; it excited the devotion of the laity. The example of the monks was the great cause of this moral reformation; but, though in an inferior degree, great praise is also due to the popes who sanctioned it, and inculcated its adoption.*

752 From the preceding statement it is evident that the
 to Gallic church sustained some important revolutions, as
 888. well in its internal policy as in its relations with the state. Under the Merovingians it was completely subject to the crown; and its different orders were at

* Authorities: *Sanctus Gregorius Turonensis, Historia Ecclesiastica Francorum*; *Frooardus, Historia Ecclesie Rhemigiensis*; the biographers of Charlemagne and the other Carlovingian sovereigns; the *Canons of Councils*, in the Collections of *Labbæus* and *Le Cointe*; the *Rollandists*, in the *Life of St. Chrodegand*; *Baronius, Annates Ecclesiastici*; *Fleury, Histoire Ecclesiastique*; *Guizot, Histoire de la Civilisation en France*, and others, in places too numerous to be cited.

war with each other. Under the Carlovingians internal enmity was destroyed ; and the church, though for a time more closely connected than ever with the throne, soon emancipated itself from the yoke of a temporal, to assume that of a spiritual, head. The pope did more than occupy the place of the emperors ; he became the great expounder of doctrines, the arbiter in discipline ; from him the pallium must be received before metropolitan functions could be exercised ; his legates alone could settle on the spot disputed claims ; appeals daily flowed to his tribunal at Rome ; and national councils could not be convoked without his permission, nor unless one of his legates presided. So long as papal influence was confined to crush the tyranny of the bishops, to deter the great barons, even the crown itself, from violence, to restore peace between the monasteries and the bishops, between the latter and the clergy, every man must have welcomed its exercise ; but, unfortunately alike for religion and society, it soon aspired to higher objects. No sooner was it freed from dependence, than — such is the natural tendency of things — it aimed at dominion over its former master, the state. It is not difficult to trace the progress of the papal power in France, though it is impossible to assign satisfactory reasons for that progress. We perceive that every new instrument from Rome assumed a bolder tone, more and more tending to the grand doctrine that the temporal was subject to the spiritual power, — that Christian monarchs were but the lieutenants of Christ's vicar on earth. What is still more strange is the fact, that the humility of the Gallic prelates perfectly corresponded with the assumption of the papal see. In the seventh century the interference of the pope would have been resisted by the prelates of France ; it was even so in the ninth : but that on this latter occasion the threat to excommunicate Gregory IV., if he excommunicated them, was a temporary ebullition of passion may safely be inferred from the fact, that a few years after-

wards (in 849) the very same prelates threatened to excommunicate a king of Bretagne because he had received with contempt a letter of Leo IV., “to whom God has given the primacy of the whole world.” That this was not a vain assumption, appeared a few years afterwards in the affair of Lothaire, king of Lorraine, and of his queen Theutberga. This prince, soon after his marriage with her, took so great an aversion to her, that he expelled her from his palace, accused her of incest, and though there was no foundation for the charge, the bishops of Gaul were obsequious enough to condemn her: nay, amidst the persecution which surrounded her, she was constrained to condemn herself. Three councils, convoked expressly for the purpose, confirmed the sentence, and permitted the king to marry his mistress, Waldrada. Nay even the legates whom Nicolas I. sent to preside over the affair in the council of Metz in 868 were persuaded to affirm the same sentence. The matter seemed finally settled; but Nicolas, who easily penetrated its truth, had courage to stand forth as the protector of innocence, in opposition to a powerful monarch. By his own authority he annulled the acts of the council, deposed the archbishops of Treves and Cologne, who had presided in them, and commanded Lothaire to recall his wife. The pope triumphed over bishops, councils, and king,—a most decisive and irrefragable proof of his supreme authority. How different this from the timid tone of the church under the Merovingian sovereigns, who put away their wives, and married others, without the slightest pretext, nay, who committed the most revolting incest, without one word of reprobation from the bishops of Gaul! In that country, as in all others where bishops have any thing to expect from a court, religion and justice will be sacrificed, whenever that sacrifice is demanded by the royal will. For this reason the authority of the pope was in itself a guard; it is only the excess of that authority, as where he arrogated to himself the power of deposing kings, that we can justly condemn. But as on this sub-

ject we have already expressed ourselves at some length *, we shall only repeat the observation, that from the eighth to the tenth century the papal interference was highly salutary ; that it more than any other cause led to the reformation of the church. In this reform we have alluded to the secular clergy only ; yet under the Merovingians the monastic orders were equally lax in discipline, perhaps also in morals. They, too, were reformed, chiefly through the zeal of St. Benedict of Aniana, of whose life and character we have already given a sketch †, and in no small degree through the pressing entreaties of the pope. ‡

During the period under consideration there were 657 many celebrated foundations, which though they cannot be called new monastic orders, were certainly improvements on those already subsisting. Thus the monastery of Corbey, situated on the river Somme, four leagues from Amiens, and founded, about the year 657, by Ste. Bathilda, mother of Clothaire III., was, on account of the privileges granted to it by popes and kings, one of the richest and most famous in Christendom : the abbot was the temporal as well as spiritual lord of the town; and that the monastery itself, as if ambitious of proving that its ample endowments had not been granted in vain, was distinguished as much for learning as for piety, appears from the long list of writers and saints contained in its annals. This great establishment, under the advocation of St. Peter, adopted the rule of St. Benedict ; but the changes afterwards made in its discipline —changes which were also extended to the numerous priories and cells dependent on it—gave it a new character. Thus, in 822, the abbot St. Adelard promulgated a series of constitutions a hundred times more minute than those of the monastic patriarch. The same saint is celebrated as the founder of another estab-

* Vol. I. p. 143.

† Ibid. p. 265.

‡ Founded on Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*; on S. Gregorius Turon. *Historia Eccles. Francor.*; on the Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum*; on the histories of the Carlovingians, and on Guizot, *Histoire de la Civilization en France*.

lishment,—the new Corbey, in Westphalia, on the banks of the Weser. The edifice was commenced in 822, and finished the following year, though at subsequent periods considerable additions were made to it. It became as famous as the elder Corbey,—in the same degree making of doctors and saints. A more celebrated foundation than either was that of Clugny, about four leagues from Meux, and fifteen from Lyons, by count William of Aquitaine, in 910, and governed by the same institute of St. Benedict. This illustrious monastery, on which so many others and even considerable houses were dependent, has conferred greater obligations on learning than any modern university. It, too, had its body of constitutions, collected by St. Udalric, monk of Clugny, and containing many alterations in, as well as additions to, the rule of St. Benedict. As it was immediately dependent on the pope, that is, exempt from the jurisdiction of the bishop, appeals from the decision of the archdeacon, who exercised most of the episcopal functions, were of necessity carried to Rome. Of its magnitude some idea may be formed, when we state, that it was not only inhabited by some hundreds of monks, but in 1245, after the council of Lyons, it entertained Innocent IV., two patriarchs, twelve cardinals, three archbishops, fifteen bishops, many abbots, St. Louis, king of France, several princes and princesses, each with a considerable retinue, yet were not the monks incommoded. Its series of canonised abbots and inmates, its famous school, its long list of writers, its boundless hospitality, prove that its immense revenues were not ill applied.—Of Ferla, which was founded in the eighth century, and which was equally exempted from the episcopal jurisdiction, and equally renowned for its school, we shall have occasion to speak in the sketch of St. Sturme.*

* Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, et Fleury, *Histoire Ecclésiastique* (sub annis). *Statuta Antiqua Abbatiae Corbeiensis*, a S. Adalardo Abbatie Ordinis S. Benedicti Conscripta, p. 1—20. *Antiquiores Consuetudines Cluniacensis Monasterii*, O. B. Collectore S. Udalrico Monacho Benedictino, lib. i. p. 21—226. (ambo in Spicilegio Dacherii, tom. iv.). S. Paschasius Ratbertus, *Vita S. Adalardi*, cap. 16. *Bollandista, Acta Sanctorum*, Die Januarii xi. Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ord. S. Benedicti*, tom. v.

But the state of the church in these countries will be best understood by a brief biographical sketch of the more celebrated saints. In the present division we omit such as were more than usually distinguished for their literary acquirements, since they will occupy a separate division,—the second in the present chapter.

Omitting Germanus of Auxerre, and Remi,— 415 names better known than most of those we shall have to occasion to notice,—the first distinguished saint of the period under consideration is *Généviève*, the patroness of Paris. To us her meagre life is chiefly interesting from its confirming the fact, that in Gaul, as in other parts of the Christian world, women, previous to the establishment of nunneries, were consecrated to God by bishops: and that they led religious lives in the houses of their parents or nearest kindred. There is something peculiarly striking in the manner in which *Généviève*, when in her fifteenth year, assumed the irrevocable obligation. She was among the inhabitants of Paris who went forth to receive the two saints, Germanus and Lupus, then on a mission to Britain. Her devotion, during the exhortation of the former, and the enthusiastic zeal which there was in her countenance, principally attracted his notice. He caused her to approach him; and, on enquiring into her sentiments and feelings, found that she was resolved to consecrate her virginity to God,—a resolution which he was not backward to strengthen. They entered the church, and joined in certain prayers and hymns adapted to the occasion; but Germanus would not give her the veil until she had passed the night in vigils,—in self-examination. Rejecting the prodigies with which, according to the spirit of the times, her life is disfigured, we may believe that her morals were pure, her zeal fervent, her austerities severe. One, however, of these prodigies—that by her prayers she preserved Paris from the arms of Attila—has been related by writers so grave, that it may be noticed. The relation rests on the authority of her earliest anonymous biographer, who, according to 586.

the monks of St. Maur, celebrated her virtues in a MS. written no more than eighteen years after her death. The composition, however, furnishes internal evidence of a date much more modern ; nor does Gregory of Tours, who, with inimitable credulity, chronicles every idle legend that reached his ears, so much as allude to the report, — a fact fatal to her supernatural powers. But if this honour is thus snatched from her, a higher one may probably be awarded her, — that of employing her influence for the poor of Paris during a severe famine. That she was highly celebrated, however, in life, and honoured immediately after death, are certain, from the church erected in her honour, — whether by Clovis, or one of his immediate descendants, is doubtful. But, after all, it is impossible to account for her celebrity in after ages, when miracles were so plentifully manufactured in her praise.*

Of a character somewhat less amiable and more dubious than that of St. Généviève was another saint of the following century, — *Pretextatus*, bishop of Rouen. He is one of those who best illustrates the truth of the observation we have made respecting the religious state of Gaul, since, though a declared partisan of Brunehild, and engaged himself in some very exceptionable transactions, he has yet been judged worthy of canonisation. The period of his birth is unknown : we hear of him, for the first time, about the middle of the sixth century. That he was implicated in the designs of that princess, a prisoner after her husband's assassination in the capital of his see, appeared from the readiness with which he married her to Merowig, her nephew, the son of Chilperic. For his boldness in thus opposing his sovereign, and in violating the senses by an incestuous marriage, he no doubt hoped to seek a refuge in the immunities of his order. He gave an asylum within the precincts of the sanctuary to the newly-married couple ; the days of both were respected by Chilperic ; Brunehild was surrendered to her subjects of Austrasia.

* The authorities for St. Généviève's life are cited at the foot of page 174.

Merowig was confined in a monastery; but after a time he escaped thence, was pursued by his vindictive father, and put to death. At the same time Pretextatus was arrested; and though he could not be tried by a secular tribunal, a council of bishops was obsequious enough to enter into the royal views. Deceived by the promises of the king, the bishop, to escape degradation, pleaded guilty to the crimes alleged against him,—treason and robbery,—an act of cowardice of which he had soon cause to repent; for though he was not deprived of his see, he was banished to a small island on the Norman coast. There he remained until the death of Childeric, in 584, when he was recalled by the inhabitants of Rouen. He could not, however, escape the vindictive hatred of Fredegund, who had dagger and cup for all who incurred her displeasure, and the ministers of whose will were generally the ecclesiastics of her household. He had the imprudence to incense still further this dangerous woman, who, after her husband's death, inhabited the same city as himself. Thus when she one day threatened that she would send him back to his exile, he replied, “Whether in exile or not, I am always a bishop, whilst thou art not always a sovereign; and if I die in exile, I proceed at once to heaven, whilst thou descendest to hell!” This taunt, so unworthy of a prelate, sealed his fate; in a rage she left his presence. The result shall be told in the words of St. Gregory of Tours:—

“ The day of our Lord's resurrection being arrived, when the bishop proceeded early to the cathedral; and according to custom had chanted the introit, while the choir sang the psalm, and he was reclining against the back of his throne, a cruel murderer approached him, and drawing forth a dagger stabbed him under the breast. He cried out, that the ecclesiastics present might aid him, *but not one came to help him.* Weltering in blood, he stretched his hands over the altar, prayed, and thanked God. Soon the faithful carried him away in their arms, and he was laid in his own bed. While there, he was visited by Fredegund, attended by two dukes, and she said to him,—‘ Holy bishop, it grieves us as much as any of thy flock,

that thou shouldst have been thus treated while performing thy duties. Would to God we may discover the perpetrator of the crime, that he may suffer his deserts ! ' The churchman, knowing her artifice, replied, — ' And who *has* perpetrated it but she who has destroyed kings, who has so often shed the blood of the innocent, and committed so many other crimes in this kingdom ? ' She merely observed, — ' We have good leeches at hand, able to cure this wound ; let them attend thee ! ' He answered, — ' God calls me from this world ; but thou, the well-known instigator of all these crimes, shalt be cursed among men to the end of time. My blood shall be visited on thine head ! ' When she retired the prelate set his house in order, and gave up the ghost. All the citizens of Rouen, especially the chief Franks who inhabited that city, were filled with great grief. One of them went to Fredegund, and said to her, — ' Thou art guilty of many crimes in this life, — of none greater than the murder of God's priest. May God speedily avenge the blood of the innocent ! He will pursue thee for this murder, and put an end to thy career of barbarities.' Having spoken these words, as he was leaving the queen, she sent a domestic to invite him to her table ; and on his refusal she besought him, if he were resolved to decline her invitation, to drink at least a cup of something, and not to leave the royal house without receiving some mark of hospitality. He consented, and having waited a moment, drank a beverage, compounded, according to the barbaric custom, of absinth, wine, and honey. It was poisoned ; for scarcely had he swallowed it, than he felt violent pains in his breast, as if something were tearing him, and he cried out to his attendants, — ' Away, wretches, away from the fate which awaits me, or you will perish with me ! ' Hearing this, they refrained from the beverage, and hastened from the palace. Though his sight began to fail him, he mounted his horse ; but in a few paces he fell and died."

But Fredegund, so slavish were the bishops of Gaul, escaped : the blood of Pretextatus, like that of better and wiser men who had equally been her victims, was unrevenged in this world. What must fill every modern reader with melancholy or disgust is the fact, that this woman,—in comparison with whom the very worst of her sex, either in ancient or modern times, have been venial offenders,—continued to receive the flatteries of the sainted Italian, Fortunatus, bishop of Poitiers. Pretextatus was canonised, simply because

in those times every ecclesiastic who happened to die a violent death was regarded as a saint and a martyr.*

Two years before the assassination of Pretextatus, in A. D. 584, a better man paid the debt of nature,—*Si. Maur,*^{584.} the friend of St. Benedict, and the founder, as before observed, of the new order in Gaul. In this twofold character he could not fail to obtain an immortal sanctity, nor that sanctity to be established by numerous miracles. In fact, he had not long received the habit, when, if he did not divide the glory of one with the venerable patriarch of monks, he was at least the shining instrument. One day a boy, named Placidus, who had received the habit, went to the lake in the neighbourhood to fetch water in a pitcher; while stooping to fill it, he lost his balance, fell into the water, and was speedily carried a bow-shot from the brink. But Placidus, observes the sage Yepes, was not to be drowned — for why? — he was to suffer martyrdom in another way.† The moment the accident happened, St. Benedict, who was sitting in his cell, said to his beloved disciple, “ Brother Maur, run quickly, for the boy has fallen into the lake, and is now far from land !” Wonderful the thing which followed, says the relater, St. Faustus, and never equalled since the days of Saint Peter !

“ Having asked and received the benediction, Maur hastened to obey the command of the father; and he ran to the very spot where the boy had been carried by the current, thinking that he was treading dry land, though he was all the time walking on the surface of the lake; and he seized the youth by the hair, and returned rapidly. And when he reached the shore, he looked behind him, and then it was that he discovered

* *Anonymus, Vita Sanctæ Genovefæ*, cap. 1—11, Anon. *Alia Vita ex Veteribus MSS.* cap. 1—10. *Miracula S. Genovefæ*, p. 147, &c. *Sanctus Gregorius Turonensis, Historia Ecclesiastica Francorum*, lib. v. cap. 27. lib. v. cap. 30, 31. *Bollandiste, Acta Sanctorum, Die iii. Januarii et Die Februario xxiv.* *The Monks of St. Maur, Histoire Littéraire de la France, tom. iii. p. 151—153, p. 351—353.*

† Criavase San Placido para ser martyr, y dar gran exemplo de sentidad, y avia de morir ahogado en sangre, y no quiso la Providencia divina que muriese en el lago. — *Cor. General de S. Ben.* fol. 31.

He that is born to be hanged, says a proverb equally sage, will never be drowned. St. Placidus was at length beheaded by the Saracens of Sicily.

how he had been running on water ; and because he could not account for the fact, he greatly wondered and feared. And when he returned to the father, he related what had happened : yet the venerable Benedict would not ascribe it to his own merits, but to the obedience of Maur ; while, on the other hand, Maur asserted that he knew he had not such virtue in himself, and that the miracle had been wrought by the father. During this friendly contention of humility, the boy who had been saved approached to decide it. He said, ‘ When I was drawn from the water, I saw the abbot’s sleeve above my head ; and that it was which seemed to me to draw me to land.’ Oh wondrous sanctity of that most blessed man, in that what was obtained by his own holy merits he would fain ascribe to the virtue of his disciple ! ”

That, after so notable an instance of the divine favour, Maur should ascend higher in the estimation of his master was inevitable. In fact, he was regarded as the successor of Benedict, when an embassy arrived from a French bishop, beseeching a colony of monks to establish the new discipline in France, and Maur was chosen to head the important mission. Four brethren, among whom was St. Faustus, the biographer of St. Maur, to whom we are indebted for most of the present details, were chosen to accompany him. The grief of the community at Monte-Casino, at parting with their brethren, with one especially to whom they had long looked as their second father, as the successor of the fast-decaying Benedict, is drawn in affecting colours by the biographer. Seeing the sobs, groans, and tears of the brotherhood, the patriarch assembled them, and thus addressed them :—

“ ‘ If, dearest brethren and children, grief were allowable to us in such a case, to whom could it be granted so justly as to myself, who suffer most by this deprivation ? But, as the apostle saith, *charity is kind** , and that kindness we owe to others rather than to ourselves : wherefore, by our paternal affection, we beseech you to refrain from wailing and tears ; for though we be taken from you, God is able to provide for this holy congregation better rulers,—men by whose merits and example you will be far more edified. And beware lest, through the cunning of the old serpent, that which must be the salvation of others, be an hinderance to ourselves. Nor shall

* 1 Corinthians, xiii. 4. . .

we, whom concord and holy love have joined, be wholly separated by intervening regions, since in our inward man, renewed according to the image of Him who made it, we shall behold one another. And you, dearest brethren, whom we despatch to aid the work of God in these regions, be courageous: comfort your hearts with your holy purpose; for doubtless ye know, that the more severe the things you suffer in this life for the salvation of others, the greater will be your rewards in the life to come. And to all of you I say, let not my near departure afflict you: since, when this bodily load is laid aside, I shall be more intimately united with you; still, by the grace of God, I shall remain a fellow-worker with you.' And saying these things he kissed us, and, with the whole congregation, followed us to the gate of the monastery, where he again kissed us, and repeated his benediction; and the saint delivered to the blessed Maur the book of the rule which he had written with his own hand."

The travellers sorrowfully commenced their journey early in 543. Their first night's entertainment was at a house belonging to their monastery, where they were rejoiced — so anxious was St. Benedict concerning them — to find two of their brethren who had been despatched to receive them. That the same great man could fully enter into the best feelings of our nature appeared while the seven were celebrating the nocturnal office: two more brethren arrived, sent by him with presents and greetings. "And when we saw them," says Faustus, "we rejoiced with exceeding great joy," — a sentiment which Yepes, in his usual manner, beautifully expands: — "And this was done for the sake of nature; for if between father and children there be great love, greater still is theirs who love one another spiritually in Jesus Christ." In the letter brought by the messengers on this occasion — a letter filled with the most tender friendship — the saint renewed his good counsels. It is gratifying to find that the best human affections can thus subsist in the cloister: perhaps there they exist in their greatest intensity; for there the rivalry of the passions is not to be found, — none of the jealousies, or misconceptions, or caprices, which beset men amidst the busy scenes of the

world. On their way, both at Vercelli and amidst the mountains of Savoy, St. Maur is said, — and let us never forget that his biographer was one of his companions, — to have wrought some miracles. How is this to be explained? That Faustus writes with sincerity; that both he and St. Maur were too good to deceive, appears certain; yet few men will subscribe to the supernatural powers of the latter. Is it that succeeding transcribers of the MS. of Faustus, with the view of giving still greater celebrity to their founder, and of enriching the congregation of St. Maur, added these wondrous relations to the text? Or, in an age so barbarous, were miracles still necessary for the propagation of the faith? — On reaching Angiers, the missionaries found that the bishop who had invited them was dead, and that his successor was by no means disposed to aid them. A noble, however, belonging to the court of Theodebert, presented them with considerable possessions, and assisted them in founding the monastery of Glanfeuil, on a plain near the Loire, a few leagues from Angiers. In conformity with the custom of the times, the noble devoted his only time to heaven, and even afterwards assumed the cowl himself. The place was further enriched by the piety of Theodebert, and by the donations of some rich men who embraced a religious life. Other kings followed the example of Theodebert, and enabled the saint to found other monasteries, as well as to amplify Glanfeuil, which shortly before his death contained, we are told, 140 monks. But that number was soon to be wofully diminished by the plague, which appeared among the brotherhood, and carried off above 100. As usual, this natural event must be magnified into a miracle. St. Maur had resigned the dignity of abbot, that his few remaining days might be passed in unobstructed devotion, when one night, as he entered the oratory of St. Martin, what should he see but the devil on the threshold of the door. "So," said his ebony majesty, "thou presumest to hope for the destruction of our kingdom, and hast come so many leagues

to effect it : certainly the attempt shall cost you much ; for in a few days I will make such havoc here, that few of you shall remain alive ! ” The devil was put to flight by “ The Lord rebuke thee, Satan ! ” but in disappearing he made a noise so truly infernal, that it awoke the whole community in great fright. When the plague appeared, Mauſt assembled his brethren, whom he exhorted to renewed prayers, and to tread with courage, because with hope, the mortal path before them. In five months only twenty-five of the fraternity remained alive, whom he was ready to leave. As his last hour drew nigh, he was carried into the church of St. Martin, where, in sackcloth and ashes, he received the holy sacraments, and yielded his soul to God. Thus ended the mortal career of one of the best men that adorned the middle ages.*

A more remarkable character than any of the preceding, was *St. Columbanus*, who, though an Irishman, bore too distinguished a part in the religious history of France to be passed over in silence. His life was written by St. Jonas, first monk, afterwards abbot of Bobbio, a monastery founded by this great Irish saint ; but whether the biographer wrote twenty-eight years only after his death, may be doubted : the style would seem to refer to a period considerably subsequent ; yet, as it is the most ancient ecclesiastical account of him extant, as its substance is confirmed by the French historian Fredegarius, and by other authorities, it may perhaps be received as genuine.† St. Columbanus must not be confounded with another contemporary saint of the same country, the celebrated founder of Iona, and apostle of the Picts, whose name, though often written the same, ought to be *Columba*.—Colum-

* Sanctus Gregorius Magnus, *Dialogi*, lib. i. cap. 1. The miracle of Placidus is also mentioned by this credulous pope. Leo Ostiensis et Petrus Diaconus, *Chronica Sacri Monasterii Casinensis*, p. 150, &c. Petrus Diac. *De Viris Illustribus Casin.* p. 3. Sanctus Faustus, *Vita S. Mauri*, cap. 1—10, *Bollandiste, Acta Sanctorum, Die xv. Januarii. Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique, tom. vii. (sub annis). Yépes, Coronica General de la Orden de San Benito, tom. i. Centuria prima, passim.*

† The author, whoever he was, lived after Fredegarius, whom in one important relation he transcribes almost word for word.

banus was a native of Leinster: the time of his birth, according to one authority, 540; according to another, 560. His future greatness is said to have been predicted to his mother, long before his birth, in a dream. One stormy night, oppressed by sleep, she beheld a sun issue from her womb, and enlighten the whole world; and she awoke just as a delightful dawn had dispersed the shades of darkness. The vision made so much impression on her mind, that she sought its signification from the wisest of her countrymen; who concurred in saying, that the child of which she was then pregnant would be a son, and a wondrous light in the church of God. In due season, a male child was born, and, from its future destiny, raised and educated with uncommon care. The progress of the young Columbanus in letters is related with applause; yet, as the few productions which remain of his exhibit no uncommon powers either of learning or intellect, we may reasonably distrust the assertion. One thing, however, is clear,—that his zeal, which began with his infancy, and continued unabated through life, was rarely equalled. But all his mother's hopes were at one time nearly wrecked: nature had given him a handsome person, and, what was still worse, an amorous temperament; the Irish maidens were as amorous as he, and not so coy as to refrain from making advances. He is said, however,—we hope truly,—to have struggled and conquered. Yet, considering the temptations to which he was exposed, his position, he felt, was dangerous. He went to ask council of a *female* hermit,—the first and last instance, we hope, of the kind in the sister island,—who advised him to flee at once from the temptation and his native home, to cross the seas, and preach reformation to mankind. Accordingly, the youth made a hasty retreat; but, as he wisely felt that, even if he were arrived at the canonical age, he was not qualified to teach others, he first placed himself under the care of a wise old priest, and next proceeded to the monastery of Benchor or Bangor, in the present county Down.

There, under the care of the abbot Comgal, he both perfected himself in sacred learning, and received the habit. After some years were elapsed, with the view of fulfilling his mother's dream, he obtained his superior's consent to enter on a foreign mission. Accompanied by twelve other monks, among whom was St. Gall, he proceeded to Britain ; where, however, he did not abide—*why, we are not informed.** Surely Britain had as much need of his labours as Gaul, to which he soon beat his course. Yet, though there was more faith among the Franks, there was probably much less morality : a barbarous, dark, bloody people, sunk in miserable superstition, and ignorant of the precepts of the Gospel, opened a wide field to his zeal. He was well received by Sigebert of Austrasia, husband of the notorious Brunehild, many of whose subjects were still pagans. This fact fixes the date of his arrival in France ; as Sigebert was assassinated in 575, the period assigned by Mabillon and the monks of St. Maur (585) falls to the ground. He preached wherever he came ; and with such zeal, and so little respect of persons, that his fame was widely diffused. As his rule compelled him to live with his brethren in community, he selected the vast desert of the Vosges, on the frontiers of Lorraine and Burgundy, where the ruins of an old castle enabled him to construct a monastery. There both he and they are said to have been so negligent of worldly things, so intent on their preachings and devotions, that they would infallibly have died of hunger, had not a neighbouring abbot, divinely warned, despatched them food. After the death of Sigebert, his patron appears to have been Gontram, king of Burgundy, in whose reign he founded the celebrated monastery of Luxeuil ; and afterwards, as his community rapidly increased, the priory of Fontaines,

* Yepes commits a sad anachronism by ascribing the cause of the saint's removal from Britain to the preaching of St. Austin and the other monks sent by pope St. Gregory from Rome : they did not reach Britain until at least twenty years afterwards.

dependent on Luxeuil.* His piety, his zeal, the rigour of the rule which he composed for his monks, the care with which he educated the noblest youths of France, would not secure him from persecution. In fact, his temper was not one of the most compromising : he expected in others the same severe virtue that he cultivated himself ; his reproofs were often as rude in manner, as they were vehement in substance. That he made enemies among the great, while he was reverenced as a superior being by the people, is certain. But the greatest opposition he encountered was from the bishops of France respecting the time of Easter. That he should adhere in this respect to the customs of the Scots and Britons, was natural ; that he should defend the custom with heat, was to be expected from the impetuosity of his character. In a letter to pope St. Gregory, he dwelt with great freedom on what he called the erroneous computation of Victorius, followed by the Roman, Gallic, and Spanish churches ; and greatly extolled that of Anatolius, approved as it was by St. Jerome. Out of respect, however to the authority of Gregory, he besought the decision of St. Peter's successor ; but, at the same time, he exposes the pertinacity of his character by roundly asserting that he shall regard any man, of whatever dignity or fame, who presumes to contradict St. Jerome, as no better than a heretic. To this letter no reply was received,—probably because it never reached the pope. In 602, a council of Gallic prelates was assembled to examine the subject,—in other words, to condemn the custom which he so strongly advocated. To them, too, he addressed a letter, couched in somewhat humbler terms ; for though he unflinchingly expresses his opinion as to the points at issue, he beseeches them to let him remain at peace, amidst his forests and the reliques of his deceased monks. “ However,” he concludes, “ if I am the cause of the present

* “ Luxen, ou Luxeuil, abbaye d'hommes de l'ordre de S. Benoit, dans la Franche-Comté, diocèse de Besançon, au pied du mont de Vosge, sur la rivière de Lautone.” — *Martinère.*

dissension, I will say with the prophet, ‘ Throw me into the sea, that the tempest may cease.’” It is needless to add that he was condemned and persecuted. In 607, we find him renewing his application to the papal chair, not so much for a decision, as for leave to maintain the ancient observances of his church. At this time the throne of Burgundy was filled by Theodoric, or Thierry II., son of the notorious Brunehild. From his uncompromising hostility to vice, he was not likely long to remain on good terms either with that licentious monarch, or the mother. How different his character from that of the slavish bishops of Gaul, who winked at the most monstrous crimes in the great, sufficiently appears from the relation of Fredegarius, a contemporary.* It appears that the reputation of this saint often led Theodoric to Luxeuil, to solicit his prayers and blessing. But Columbanus had no notion of that Gallic piety which could subsist with immorality, and he began to reprove the notorious incontinence of the king, whom he exhorted to marry. Theodoric, who was for a season penitent, promised to reform; but the change was successfully opposed by Brunehild, who feared, that if a queen were brought to court, her own authority would speedily cease. One day Brunehild had the assurance to produce the illegitimate offspring of her son, and to request the saint to bless them. The anger of Columbanus was highly raised; he sternly rejected her suit, and predicted that issue so guilty would never sway the sceptre. From this moment the queen vowed his destruction, and used every effort to incense Theodoric against him. Her arts were soon known to the saint, who, having suffered persecution enough, and naturally anxious to avert it in future, went to court to remove their effect: but both his clerical and personal character were too dignified for kings. The rest shall be told in the words of Fredegarius *:—

* Cave, whose work abounds with inaccuracies, places this writer a century too late.

† This relation is also to be found, almost word for word, in the monk

“ Columbanus arriving at sunset, the king was told that the man of God was come, but that he refused to enter the royal house. Theodoric replied, that it was better to humour the man of God, than to provoke the divine wrath by offending him; and he ordered his people to prepare every thing with royal pomp, and go forth to meet God’s servant. Accordingly they hastened to offer their presents. Seeing himself served so royally with meats and cups, Columbanus enquired the meaning of all this: and on their replying, ‘Behold what the king sendeth thee!’ he rejected the presents with a malediction: — ‘It is written, the Most High rejects the gifts of the wicked: it is not meet that the lips of God’s servants should be sullied by the meats of their persecutor!’ At these words the vases were miraculously broken to pieces, the wine and the beer spilt on the ground, and the other things scattered abroad.* The terrified servants ran to tell the king what had happened; and at break of day, he, no less alarmed, hastened with his grandmother to appease the man of God. They brought him to pardon the past, and promised amendment in future. Columbanus, being pacified, returned to his monastery. But they soon forgot the promise: they renewed their sins, and the king abandoned himself to his old lusts. Hearing this, Columbanus sent him a letter full of stinging reproaches†, threatening him with excommunication if he did not mend his life. Brunehild, more angry than before, disposed the king against St. Columbanus, whom, with all her might, she endeavoured to destroy. She besought all the nobles of the court to poison the king’s mind against the man of God: she even solicited the bishops to bring his religion into question, by censuring his rule. Obedying the exhortations of this wicked woman, the courtiers turned the royal heart against God’s saint, whose orthodoxy they persuaded him to prove. So the king went to find the man of God at Luxeuil, and asked why he departed from the customs of other bishops, and also why access to the interior of the monastery was not allowed to all Christians. St. Columbanus, being bold and strong in mind, replied, that it was not his practice to open an entrance to the habitation of the servants of God for worldly men—men hostile to religion; and that he had suitable places of entertainment for all visitors. The king said, — ‘If thou wishest to partake of our liberality, or secure our protection, thou wilt open every part of

Jonas, the biographer of St. Columbanus, who had evidently the French chronicler before his eyes.

* Such miracles meet us at every stage, — related too by contemporaries!

† *Litteras ad eum verberibus plenas ditexit*, Language could not well be stronger.

the monastery to all comers.' The man of God replied, — ' If thou intendest to violate our regulations, learn that I will not accept either thy gifts or thy protection. If thou art come to destroy the habitations of God's servants, or to abolish their discipline, know that thine empire shall fall to the dust, and that thy whole race shall perish with thee ! ' — a prediction verified in the end. Already had the king entered the refectory, when, terrified by these words, he quickly retraced his steps. Being continually assailed by the sharp reproaches of the man of God, he said, — ' Thou expectest from me the crown of martyrdom ; but I am not so foolish as to commit such a deed. Be guided by more prudent councils, which may avail thee much ; let him who has departed from the manners of other men, return to the way he has quitted.' The courtiers exclaimed with one voice, that they would not suffer in that neighbourhood a man who did not associate with all others. But Columbanus replied, that he would not stir a foot from the place, unless he was dragged away by force. The king soon departed, leaving a certain lord, who immediately expelled the man of God from the monastery, and conducted him to Besançon, there to await the king's pleasure."

There is an anecdote here related by St. Jonas, of which we find no mention in Fredegarius, but which is too striking to be omitted. While Columbanus was at Besançon, he was told that the public prison was filled with condemned criminals. To them he hastened to preach the word of God ; but he also did them a far more agreeable service. Having made them promise that they would amend their lives, and sustain the canonical penance for their respective offences, he ordered their irons to be unloosed, and set them free. Such was the reverence in which he was held, that no one dreamed of opposing him : in fact, the man before whom kings trembled, was not likely to be contradicted by simple gaolers. Having washed their feet,— a work of humility already common,— he sent them to the cathedral, to assume the usual penance, and to moan over their sins.* Fredegarius then continues : —

" After these things, the man of God, perceiving that he was neither guarded nor molested by any one, — for all men saw

* We omit the miracles related on this occasion, which, as they are not even alluded to by Fredegarius, may safely be regarded as the invention of Saint Jonas.

that the power of God shone in him, and all refrained from injuring him, lest they should share in the punishment, — one Sunday ascended a high hill. (Such is the position of the city, that the houses are built on the steep declivity of the mountain, the tops of which rear their heads on high, and which is surrounded by the river Doubs, preventing access to the place.) There he remained until mid-day, looking far and wide, to see if any one was posted to hinder his return to the monastery : and when no one appeared in sight, he passed through the city with his attendants, and regained his retreat. When Brunehild and Theodoric heard that he had quitted his place of exile, filled with greater rage, they sent the count Berthar and Bandolf with an armed band in search of him. The messengers found St. Columbanus in the church, singing and praying, with all the community*, and they thus addressed the man of God : — ‘Obey, we beseech thee, the orders of the king, and our entreaties : return to the place which thou hast left !’ He replied, — ‘I do not believe that God wishes that I should return to the place which I left in obedience to the terrible command of Christ.’ Seeing that the man of God would not be persuaded, Berthar left some men, bolder than the rest, and retired. These men prayed the man of God to have mercy on them, who had the misfortune to be left for such a business, and to consider their danger ; for if they did not remove him by force, their lives must answer for their neglect. But he repeated what he had before said, that violence only should make him leave the place. In this twofold danger, and urged by fear, some seized the robe in which he was clothed ; others knelt at his feet, beseeching him with tears to pardon so great a crime, since they followed not their own wishes, but the king’s orders. The man of God, seeing that if he remained inflexible there would be danger, left the place, amidst the weeping and wailing of all, and accompanied by the guards, who had orders not to quit him until he was beyond the dominions of the king.”

In this second exile Columbanus exhibited a resignation commensurate with his indomitable courage. On his way he is said to have predicted the approaching extinction of Theodoric’s house.† On reaching Nantes, he and his companions,— those who had left Ireland with him, for his French converts were forcibly de-

* Here Jonas has another miracle added to the relation of Fredegarius : the soldiers were supernaturally unable to see the saint, though he was traversing the church in the midst of them.

† See page 14. of the present volume.

tained at Luxeuil,—were embarked, but contrary winds soon forced the vessel to return into the same port. The captain, considering the storm as the effect of divine displeasure, landed the saint, with every thing which belonged to him. Nobody sought to molest or detain him, but left him to go wherever he pleased, and even supplied him with provisions and money for that purpose. By Clothaire, king of Neustria, who happened to be on the coast, he was affectionately received ; but, unwilling to bring on that prince the vengeance of Theodoric, he procured an escort to conduct him into Austrasia, then subject to Theodebert. By Theodebert he was received with equal respect, and he was soon joined by several monks from Luxeuil. Resolved to preach the Gospel to the heathens, he advanced into Switzerland, and pitched his tent at Zug. That the wild natives still offered sacrifices to Woden, or Odin, is affirmed by Jonas, and there is no reason to doubt the relation * : many he reclaimed ; but St. Gall, his beloved disciple, so incurred the wrath of the rest, by throwing their consecrated offerings into the lake of Zuric, and by burning their temples, that they expelled the missionaries. After other wanderings, and a residence of three years near the lake of Constance, this celebrated but eccentric man, hearing that Theodoric had subdued Austrasia, retired into Lombardy, where he founded the monastery of Bobbio, situated in the bottom of the Apennines, near Trebia, and where, in 615, he ended his extraordinary career. He was by far the most remarkable man of his age ; and Ireland may boast of him as one of the greatest saints, to whom, fruitful as she once was in such generations, she has ever given birth.†

* “ Denique nescio quem deum *Vodanum*, cui litabant Suevi tamquam Mercurio, nobis refert (Jonas). Incognitum omnino numen, et *Mercurius*, quem inter deos maxima colebant Germani, *Thaut* vel *Dith*, nunquam *Vodanes* apud eos fuit dictus.” — *Basnage Obs. de Columbano in Canis.* i. 773.

Who would have expected the learned editor of Canisius to be ignorant of the great warrior god of Scandinavia and Germany,—a deity better known than even the Mercury of ancient Rome.

† S. Jonas, Vita S. Columbani (apud Surium, De Probatis Vitis Sanc-

To avoid the necessity of reverting to this celebrated man, we may pass a few remarks on his productions. The rule which he drew up for the guidance of his monks at Luxeuil, has been printed in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, and other collections. It is so distinct in its observances and penalties from that of St. Benedict, that we are at a loss to conceive how Yépes, Mabillon, and other Benedictine historians, could class him in their order.* He gives it such as he receives it from his fathers, the Irish monks,—not from the disciples of the celebrated Italian. It is in some respects more rigid than that of St. Benedict ; as where it enjoins one meal only *per diem*, and that to consist only of herbs, farina, and bread ; as where, also, he enjoins the whole Psalter to be read in two nights. The penitential which follows it, recognises corporal punishment : six lashes for minor faults, 200 for such as were considerable ; but even in this case not more than twenty-five were to be applied at the same time. Each monastery had two stewards ; one charged with the exterior affairs, the other with the daily routine of the household : they were appointed, that the abbot might exclusively devote himself to the care of souls. The rule is singular in its recognising two sorts of sins, and two different confessors : *mortal* sins were to be confessed to the priest only ; *venial* ones to the abbot, or some other laymen, always before the next meal or night's rest. This composition, however it may dispose us in favour of the author's piety, can give us no idea of his talents ; but in the same invaluable collection,—the *Bibliotheca Patrum*,—we have sixteen instructions of his, which may be regarded as sermons ;

torum, Dic xx. Novembri, p. 497—498.). Fredegarius, Chronicon, cap. 36—40. Anon. Vita S Galli, passim. Yépes, Coronica General de San Benito, tom. II. Centuria segunda, fol. 3—30. The monks of St. Maur, Histoire Littéraire de la France, tom. III, p. 505—509. Fleury, Histoire Ecclesiastique, tom. VIII, p. 17—232. passim.

* Fray Geronimo Roman claims Columbanus as one of the *ermitas de San Agustin*,—much to the dissatisfaction of Yépes, who insists that as Bobbio was a Benedictine monastery, the founder must of necessity have been of that order. La consecuencia no es buena, Maestro Fray Antonio. Might not the saint, or one of his immediate successors in the abbacy, have subsequently introduced the Italian rule, as much more comprehensive than the Irish one?

five letters, and some poetic fragments. Both by Fleury and the monks of St. Maur, St. Columbanus is praised for his knowledge of antiquity, especially of the ancient discipline of the church ; and the praise is, doubtless, well deserved.* In general, however, his compositions are more remarkable for imagination, for energetic painting, for burning zeal, for an uncompromising application of principles, than for learning or taste ; though he is often original, sometimes very subtle. From the zeal with which he recommended ascetic observances, it might have been supposed that he placed an intrinsic value on them : it is, however, certain that he regarded them only as means to an end, — as favourable to inward purity.

“ Let us not suppose,” says he, in the second of his instructions, “ that to fatigue the dirt of our bodies with fastings and vigils will avail us, without a reformation of manners. To macerate the flesh, without corresponding benefit to the soul, is like cultivating ground which can never yield fruit : it is like constructing a statue, without all gold, within all mud. Why carry the war outside the gates, if the enclosure is a prey to ruin ? What should we say of a man who cleansed his vine all around, yet inwardly suffered it to be consumed by vermin and weeds ? A religion of bodily gestures and motions is vain ; vain is bodily suffering ; vain the care which we take of our outward man, if we do not also superintend and cleanse the inward. True piety consists in humility, not of body, but of heart. Of what avail are the combats which the servant wages with the passions, when these passions live in peace with the master ? Nor is it sufficient to hear and read of virtue. Will mere words cleanse a man’s house from filth ? Can a daily task be accomplished without labour and sweat of the brow ? Wherefore gird on your armour : he who does not valiantly fight, can never obtain the crown.”

Piety more rational, in language more appropriate,* is not to be found in the best ages of the church. But St. Columbanus is not always thus simple : he is generally more rhetorical, more imaginative, more subtle ; yet he seldom ceases to be original, and he is always impressive. Whether *all* the poetical fragments ascribed to him, be

* “ On a peu de monumens des vi. et vii. siècles où l’on trouve plus d’érudition ecclésiastique, qu’il y en a dans les cinq lettres dont on vient de rendre compte.” — *Hist. Lit. de la France*, iii. 517.

his composition, may reasonably be doubted. In the *Thesaurus Monumentorum* of Canisius, for instance, there is a piece entitled *Carmen Monostichon*, which has been also attributed to St. Aldhelm of Sherborne. That learned Jesuit combats, apparently with success, the paternity of the latter; yet we may doubt, perhaps, whether the Irish saint has a greater claim to it. However this be, it is certain that, in the fragments undoubtedly his, we meet with less poetic imagery than we should have expected, — less even than in his prose. Of his orthodoxy, in the Roman catholic acceptation of the word, there can be no question. Though he differed from the papal see in the observance of Easter, and other points of discipline, he himself intimates, in one of his letters, that, where *faith* is involved, he adheres to the decisions of St. Peter's chair.*

- 570 In the lives of the saints who lived at this period, we
to sometimes meet with traits of great feeling, and with
682. graphic descriptions, which would not discredit a far brighter period of religion and of literature. Thus, in the life of *St. Rusticola*, abbess of a convent founded by St. Cesarius of Arles, we have in a dream of Rusticola's mother, prophetic of her child's future destination, some fine touches of maternal sensibility.

"One night, when the mother Clementia was asleep, she dreamed that she was fondly feeding two young doves; the one white as snow, the other adorned with various hues. As she was thus tenderly and pleasantly occupied, her servants told her that St. Cesarius, bishop of Arles, was at her door. Hearing this, in her delight at the holy man's arrival, she hastened to meet him, eagerly saluted him, and besought him to bless her house with his presence. He entered and blessed it. Having paid him the honours which were his due, she besought him to take some refreshment; but he replied, — "Daughter, I desire

* Regula S. Columbani, passim (apud Bibliothecam Patrum Latinorum, tom. ii.). Ejusdem, Instructio, ii. (apud eandem, xii. 10.). Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique, tom. viii. p. 20. Beati Columbani Carmen Monostichon, (apud Canisium, Thesaurus Monumentorum, tom. i. Appendix). Ejusdem, Epistola in quā detestatur Avaritiam (apud eundem, eodemque tomo). Basnagius, De Columbano Canis. i. 772. The monks of St. Maur, Histoire Littéraire de la France, tom. ii. p. 510—525. Yépes, Coron. Gen. de S. Benito, tom. ii. fol. 30, &c. Guizot, Histoire de la Civilisation en France, tom. ii.

only that thou wilt give me one of the doves which I have seen thee nurse with so much care.' She hesitated, and began to wonder how he could have heard that she had any doves, and she denied that she had. 'I tell thee,' he replied, 'that, with God's blessing, I will not leave this place until my wish be fulfilled.' No longer able to resist, she produced her doves, and offered them to the holy man. With great joy he took the one of dazzling whiteness, put it eagerly into his bosom, bade her adieu, and departed."

Nothing could be more simple or natural. In time Rusticola professed, became abbess, and governed her nunnery with great reputation. The following extract, referring to the close of her life in 682, will show, that as in the case of St. Maur, the best and finest affections were not unknown to the cloister.

"One Friday, after joining her nuns, according to custom, in the vesper song, though feeling exhausted, she yet undertook what was above her strength, — the reading of the lesson for the day : she knew that she should only hasten the sooner to the Lord. On Saturday morning she felt cold, and her limbs were deprived of strength. Lying down on her little pallet, a fierce fever assailed her ; yet she ceased not to praise God, to whom she recommended her spiritual daughters, about to be orphans, nor to comfort those who wept around her. On Sunday she was worse ; and as her bed was made only once a year, the servants of God besought her to use a couch less hard, and thereby spare her body so much fatigue ; but she refused her consent. On Monday, the day of St. Lawrence the Martyr, she grew still weaker, and her breast heaved with the spasms. At this view the afflicted virgins of Christ redoubled their tears and groans. As it was the third hour of the day, and the congregation in their affliction repeated their psalms mentally, the holy mother demanded why she did not hear the chanting. When the nuns replied that grief would not permit them to sing, she said, — 'Only sing the more loudly, that I may be edified by sounds so sweet to me !' The following day, while her body lay motionless, her eyes, which still preserved their sparkling, shone like stars. Looking around her, and unable to speak, with her hand she enjoined silence to those who wept, and endeavoured to comfort them. When one of the sisters touched her feet, to feel whether they were still warm, she observed, — 'My hour is not yet come !' But soon afterwards, at the sixth hour of the day, with a cheerful countenance, with animated eyes, and like one smiling, this

glorious, blessed soul fled to heaven, to join innumerable choirs of saints."

The life of *St. Seine* (*Sequanus*), founder, in the sixth century, of a monastery which bore his name in the province of Burgundy, exhibits an interesting union of graphic description with an irrepressible anxiety for the salvation of souls.

" When Seine, thanks to his own zeal, felt that he was well instructed in the divine doctrines of Scripture, and in monastic observances, he enquired for a place where he might build a monastery. As he visited the neighbouring districts, and communicated his wish to all his friends, one of his kindred, Thiolaf, said to him, — ' Since thou askest counsel of me, I can tell thee of a place where thou mightest establish thyself, if thy purpose is inspired by the love of God. There is an estate which, I believe, belongs to me by inheritance; but the inhabitants around are so savage, that, like wild beasts, they feed on human flesh; and for this reason it is not safe to venture among them without a band of armed men.' The blessed Seine replied, — ' Show me the country: for if my wish springs from divine inspiration, the ferocity of these men shall be exchanged for the mildness of the dove.' Being joined by his companions, they reached the place which had been pointed out to them. It was a forest, the trees of which almost touched the clouds, — a solitude which for a long time nobody had ventured to disturb. They were enquiring of one another what direction they should take, when they perceived a winding path, so narrow that they could hardly follow in the same line; so beset with thorns, and overhung with thick branches, that one foot could hardly be made to follow the other. However, with great fatigue, and with torn vestments, they at length reached the heart of this wild forest, where, bending their heads towards the ground, they began to regard with attention these dark solitudes. After some time they espied the narrow entrance of a cavern, obstructed with stones and bushes: besides, the branches of the trees being densely interwoven, rendered the cavern so dark that even the wild beasts avoided it: it was the den of robbers and of evil spirits. When they were before it, Seine, the beloved of God, knelt on the ground; while, leaning his body on the thorns and bushes, he wept, and thus prayed: — ' Lord, Creator of heaven and earth, who inclinest thine ears to those who call upon thee,

* *Vita S. Rusticolum* (apud *Mabillonum*, *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti*, tom. ii. p. 140.). *Guizot, Histoire de la Civilisation en France*, tom. ii. p. 170, &c.

from whom all good things are derived, and without whom all the efforts of weak man are vain, if it be thy pleasure that I remain here, let me know it, and conduct to a good end the beginning which thy grace has enabled me to make ! ' This prayer being finished, he arose, and cast his weeping eyes towards heaven. It was then he felt that Christ had been his guide into that dark forest : wherefore, having blessed the place, he laid the foundations of a little cell on the spot where he had just prayed. His arrival was soon known to the neighbouring inhabitants, who, under the divine influence, exhorted one another to visit him. Scarcely had they seen him, when from wolves they became lambs : so that those who had hitherto been a terror to all, where thenceforward ministers of aid. Thenceforward, too, this place, once the den of cruel demons and robbers, became the abode of innocence."

In this wild place a monastery soon arose, destined to spread alike the benefits of civilisation and the blessings of religion. Here the saint,—and richly does he deserve the appellation,—lived until 580, when he passed to his reward. — The early life of another saint, *Austregesil*, bishop of Bourges, though of a character widely different from the preceding, exhibits an interesting view of the struggles with which the youth, whose better thoughts are towards another world, has often to contend. From his infancy he expressed to his parents a wish not to marry, but to seclude himself in religious retirement.

" Hearing him thus speak, his parents urged him to obey them in this respect, and not renounce the world. He, unwilling to grieve those whom he wished to satisfy, promised at length that he would do so, if such were the will of God. While he was in the king's service, he began to turn this matter in his mind,—anxious to discover what course he ought to pursue. At length he remembered three men of his own nation, and equal in fortune. The names of the three he wrote on three tablets, and placed them under the cover of the altar in the church of St. John, near Châlons, vowing to pass three successive nights in watching, fasting, and prayer. After the third night, he resolved to lay his hand on the altar, and to ask in marriage the daughter of the man whose name should be written on the first tablet he touched. Having passed, however, one night in vigils, he was overcome the second. About the middle of the night, no longer able to resist, he bent his legs, and fell asleep in his seat. Two old men appeared before

him, and one asked of the other,—‘ Whose daughter is Austregisil to marry?’ —‘ Dost thou not know,’ was the reply, ‘ that he is already married?’ —‘ To whom?’ —‘ To the daughter of the judge Justus.’ On awaking, Austregisil began to ponder who this Justus could be, of what place he was judge, and whether he had a virgin marriageable. His enquiries after Justus being vain, he resorted, according to custom, to the royal palace. On the way, he passed through a village where there was an auberge : in it were some travellers, among whom were a poor old man and his wife. When this woman saw Austregisil, she said to him,—‘ Stranger, wait a little, and I will tell thee what I have seen in a dream concerning thee. I thought a great noise struck my ears, like that produced by a chanting of psalms, and I said to thine host, — Good man, what means this sound? What festival is celebrated by the priests to-day? Why the procession?’ He replied, —‘ Our guest, Austregisil, is going to be married.’ Filled with joy, I ran to catch a glimpse of the bride, to admire her complexion and figure. When the priests, clad in white, with crosses in their hands, chanting psalms, according to custom, were passed by, thou camest the last, followed by the multitude. I looked anxiously, yet I saw no woman, not even the virgin thou wast to marry; and I said to thine host, —‘ Where is the young bride?’ He answered, —‘ Dost thou not see her in his hands?’ I looked, yet I saw nothing in thy hands save the book of the Gospels.’ Then it was that, by his reverie and the woman’s dream, the saint comprehended that the vocation of Heaven led him to the priesthood.” *

678 If Gaul had its saints and martyrs at an early age,—
to and it had them in the first century,—Germany was
739. less fortunate ; for the Christian religion was not carried much beyond the Rhine until the seventh century. It might have been supposed that the former country, with its army of canonised churchmen, would have speedily despatched hosts of missionaries to reclaim the German states from idolatry ; yet it is certain that these holy personages were more attached to useless austerities and idle retreat than to the duties of life. It may, indeed, be contended, that the difference of language between

* Vita S. Sequani, p. 7 et 8. (apud Mabillonum, *Acta Sanctorum Ordini S. Benedicti*, tom. i.). Vita S. Austregisili, p. 2. (apud eundem, tom. ii. p. 96). Guizot, *Histoire de la Civilisation en France*, tom. ii. p. 176, &c.

To M. Guizot are we indebted for first directing our attention to two saints, who, amidst the interminable mass of hagiologic lore, might otherwise have escaped our notice.

the two people, and, still more, the terror inspired by the German name, were obstacles sufficient to justify the inactivity of the Gauls. They did not, however, terrify the Romans, who, under circumstances precisely similar, planted the Gospel on each side of the Rhine, and south of the Danube, and even established some bishoprics, though they were soon swept away by the barbarian invaders. After the irruption of the Burgundians and Franks, when Gaul formed a part of the great Germanic empire, when kindred ties and identity of language connected both banks of the Rhine, this objection no longer applied ; yet, even then, we look in vain to the Gallic churchmen for any sympathy with their benighted, perishing brethren of the north.* Indeed, Scotland and England did that which the most Christian nations neglected. If we except St. Emmeren of Poitiers, who preached the Gospel in Bavaria, little was done towards the conversion of the Germanic nations (those which lay near the Rhine acquired respect for Christianity by continual intercourse with their fellow subjects of Gaul,) until 678, when St. Wilfrid appeared as the apostle of Frisia. Whatever may be said of this celebrated man as to his disputes in England, it is certain that his missionary ardour entitles him to the veneration of posterity. He soon baptised great numbers ; and there can be no doubt that he would eventually have permanently planted the Gospel in that barbarous country, had the arts of his enemies allowed him to remain at peace. On this occasion the behaviour of Adgil, the king, must not be forgotten. Presents from England had made Ebroin †, mayor of the Franks, anxious to intercept St. Wilfrid in his passage to Rome ; Ebroin, hearing that his intended victim was in Friesland, offered Adgil a large quantity of gold, as a reward for the person or the head of the saint. The king read the letter of Ebroin at table, in presence of the mes-

* " Les Francs négligèrent presque entièrement, quant à la religion, les contrées situées au-deçà du Rhin. Des étrangers entreprirent de temps en temps ce qu'ils négligèrent." — Schmidt, i. 423.

† See page 15. of the present volume.

in Southampton, where the sciences were better taught. At thirty he was ordained priest, and such was his reputation, that, though without any ecclesiastical dignity, he was generally summoned to the general councils. From the zeal, however, with which he propagated the idle legend, that a man had recently risen from the dead to attest the damnation of Ceolred, king of the Mercians*, we may be allowed to doubt his reputed powers of judgment. Dissatisfied with his limited sphere of utility, in his thirty-sixth year he obtained the consent of his abbot to preach the Gospel to the German idolaters. Accompanied by two or three monks, he first repaired to Frisia, but as Radbod, who had restored idolatry, was at that time at war with the Franks, he effected nothing, and he returned. His desire, however, to reclaim idolaters was too ardent to be quenched; and, in the following April, furnished with letters to the pope from the priest of Winchester, he proceeded to Rome. By Gregory II. he was consecrated bishop, and exhorted to persevere in his holy design. Thuringia was the first theatre of his labours. His letters from that province, and from Franconia, give us a thorough insight into the state of religion in that quarter. He tells us that strolling vagabonds and fugitive cerfs had, of their own authority, assumed the priestly, or even episcopal character,—men plunged at once in ignorance and vice. Some of them inculcated a grotesque mixture of idolatry and Christianity; others sacrificed indifferently to Christ or Woden, according to the advantage they expected to derive from the act. We do not read, indeed, of temples or altars, which, if they ever existed in Thuringia, had been destroyed by preceding missionaries under the authority of the Frank kings; but we meet with consecrated graves, with trees, at the foot of which sacrifices were offered to the ancient gods of the country. Thus, at Geismar, in Hesse, was one of those trees, that was feared beyond the rest, amidst a multitude of

* To this legend we shall probably revert in the next volume.

heathens ; Boniface (he must hereafter be known by his papal name) eagerly assisted to cut it down. When they saw that he was neither consumed by subterraneous fire, nor blasted by lightning, they began to distrust the divinities of Walhalla.* Even in those places where Christians alone had been long resident, the bishop found little to praise. During fourscore years there had been no council ; there was no metropolitan to control the conduct of his suffragans ; hence the dignitaries, and, in imitation of them, the inferior clergy, had concubines ; or if any were free from that vice, they were addicted to another about as bad, — drunkenness. Almost all enjoyed the pleasures of the chase ; many indulged in the no less agreeable arts of war. Sensible that abuses so inveterate could not be eradicated without the restoration of provincial councils, of metropolitans, and of the ancient canonical discipline, and that none of these objects could be attained without the aid of the new powers, Boniface applied both to the holy see and to Carloman, son of Charles Martel†, for the protection of the state. In both applications he was successful : by the former he was appointed archbishop and papal legate ; the latter presided in the councils, which now began to be convoked : the great work of reform now commenced, and was prosperously conducted. By father Papebroch, a Jesuit editor of the *Acta Sanctorum*, the apostle is censured for subjecting the proceedings of councils to the influence of kings ; but without such influence what could he have effected ? In a letter to his friends at Winchester, he observes,— “Without the protection of the Frank prince, I could neither govern the people, nor protect the priests, deacons, and virgins consecrated to God : without his prohibitions, without the penalties which he provides for those who refuse to obey me, vain would be the attempt

* “ Tum autem summae sanctitatis antistes, consilio inito cum fratribus, ligneum ex supradicte arboris metallo (qu ?) oratorium construxit, illudque in honorem S. Petri Apostoli (dedicavit).”— *S. Willibaldus, in Vitâ S. Bonifacii*, cap. iii. a. 34.

† See page 18. of the present volume.

in this country to abolish heathen ceremonies, or idolatrous sacrifices.' Nor did their opposition, which, after all, he encountered, and of which he bitterly complains, spring from the heathens, or the half-converted alone: the greatest, because the most interested, was from the clergy, who, strong in their former impunity, and anxious to perpetuate it, gave him trouble enough. But his was not a mind to be daunted by difficulties: he founded bishoprics, which he filled with discernment; the newly appointed prelates co-operated with him; churches and monasteries arose; schools were attached to cathedrals and other edifices; barbarism began to disappear; the clergy were forbidden to carry arms, to marry, or to hunt; certain qualifications were required in the candidates for holy orders; and none were permitted to preach, or to administer the sacraments, without the express sanction of himself. So far we must award him the need of almost unqualified praise; but his policy in regard to the papal court will, to many, appear questionable. No man ever exceeded him in devotion to that court, which he certainly regarded as the abode of Christ's vicar on earth, and to which the church universal was divinely subjected. The oath which he took of fidelity to it on his elevation to the archbishopric of Mentz, might have been dictated by Bellarmine himself; and in the councils over which he presided, he caused the duty of receiving the pallium from Rome, and the propriety of the papal intervention in the internal affairs of a diocese, to be formally recognised. Objectionable, as in the abstract the papal pretensions undoubtedly are, there have been times when their admission was necessary to the peace of the church and to the welfare of religion. In the present chapter we have already seen how, so long as the prelates of Gaul were dependent on the crown only, the state of religion in that country was most lamentable; and how, after they had been brought into a closer connection with the papal see, a reformation was effected in it. In Gaul and Germany, probably too in Britain, Boniface had

seen enough of the laxity alike of morals and discipline where there was no recognised head armed with authority sufficient to enforce the observance of the canons, against the opposition of the interested, however powerful: and that he was no slave to the person, however he might reverence the office, of pope, is evident from the freedom with which he exposes to their faces the weakness, the impolicy, the culpable indifference of some pontiffs. However, he consulted them in every thing. Some of their decisions on the questions which he proposed to them, seem strange enough, and prove that where an object was to be gained they could sometimes be even criminally condescending. That, through regard to Germanic barbarism, relations below the fourth generation should be allowed to marry, was rational enough; but when a wife, through disease, was rendered incapable of discharging the *debitum conjugale*, that the husband should be permitted to remarry, must strike not only at the very root of that most solemn of engagements, but at the very foundations of society: for this criminal indulgence, however, Boniface is not accountable; and we know that it was but transiently conceded. His sole objects were the conversion of souls, and the preservation of discipline. Of his success in the former, some idea may be formed from the fact, that, in 739,— after about twenty years' labour — 100,000 adults had been reclaimed from idolatry. From the acts, however, of the different councils held during his pontificate, we may infer the difficulty of eradicating from the hearts of the converts their ancient leaning towards paganism. In the mean time, his worldly consideration increased; in 749, in removing his metropolitan seat to Mayence, thirteen suffragan bishops were submitted to his jurisdiction; in 752 he was selected to crown Pepin king of France and Germany; and he enjoyed, in his own life, the deserved reputation of an apostle. His labours, in fact, were not confined to Franconia, Thuringia, and Bavaria: four times during his life he penetrated into Frisia to preach

the Gospel to a people of whom, though many, doubtless, remembered the instructions of his predecessors, the majority appear to have returned to their ancient superstition. Twice he had visited it when in the vigour of manhood ; the third time of his visiting that wild country — a country destined to become his tomb — he had passed the ordinary term appointed to men, threescore years and ten : he was, moreover, charged with infirmities, the result no less of bodily exertion during so many years, than of old age. His success was considerable ; he baptised thousands. In 754 he returned to Mayence, but only to make preparations for his fourth and last mission. He seems, indeed, to have had a presentiment that he should not survive it. He resolved to resign all his ecclesiastical dignities ; and his first care was to procure the ordination of his friend St. Lully, whom, in virtue of the papal permission, he had nominated to succeed him. Nor was he less anxious respecting the fate of the numerous ecclesiastics whom he had induced to leave England, and settle in his see. In his prophetic letter to the priest Fulred, confidential friend of king Pepin, he says, —

“ I cannot enough thank you for the friendship you have so often shown me in my need. I pray you to finish what you have so well begun, by informing the king that, in the opinion of my friends and myself, my infirmities must soon terminate my earthly career, and by requesting that he will tell me what favour he intends to show my disciples after my death. Nearly all are strangers ; some are priests spread in different parts for the service of the church ; others are monks who, in our little monasteries, are occupied in the instruction of youth ; and among them are some who have grown old with me, comforting me in my labours. I feel for them all, fearing lest, after my death, they be scattered abroad ; and lest the people on the confines of the heathen lose their faith in Jesus Christ. Wherefore, I request for them your advice and protection. And I beseech you, in the name of God, to confirm Lully, my son and brother, in the see I have filled, that he may be a guide to the priests, monks, and people. I hope he will faithfully discharge the duties of the station. Another thing touches me closely : my priests who are on the frontiers of the heathen lead

a very miserable life. Bread they may give, but not clothing, unless some one aids them as I have done."

After he had consecrated Lully, and was about to depart from France, his last instructions to the new metropolitan no less testify his anxiety for his flock :—“ My term of life approaches : finish, dearest son, the building of the church which I have commenced in Thuringia ; apply yourself heart and soul to the conversion of the heathen ; finish, especially, the church of Fulda, and lay my bones in it. Prepare the things necessary for my journey, and with my books enclose a shroud to contain my mortal remains.* At length (755) he embarked on the Rhine, arrived in Friesland, and recommenced his missionary labours with great success. He was assisted by Eoban, whom, after the death of St. Willibrod, he had consecrated bishop of Utrecht ; by three priests, three deacons, and four monks. He had appointed a day for the confirmation of such as he had baptised ; and that he might be ready to receive them, he pitched his tents on the banks of a river on the confines of the Oster and Neester. When the appointed day arrived, however, instead of the neophytes, he saw advancing a multitude of fierce pagans, armed with shields and spears. His attendant clergy were preparing to resist, when he left his tent, and arrested their purpose :—“ Forbear, my sons ! if we are truly taught by scripture, we should not return evil for evil, but good. To me the long-expected day has arrived ; the time of our departure is at hand. Be ye therefore comforted in the Lord ; remember his gracious promises ; trust in Him, and he will deliver your souls. Men and brethren,” he continued, “ fear not them who can destroy the body, but cannot touch the immortal soul ! Rejoice in God ! fix the anchor of your hope on Him who will give you the promised reward,—a seat in His mansion, with the glorified angels !” Amidst exhortations such as these, mindful not of himself, but of his companions

* “ Creese con mucha certidumbre que huó revelacion de su muerte, porque todo quanto hacia y decia, eran pronosticos de su cercano fallecimiento.” — Yepes.

in extremity, this great and good man received a crown of martyrdom, and with it that more glorious crown for which during a protracted life he had been so zealously striving. The murderers had little reason to congratulate themselves on their booty,—an inducement equally strong with the hope of avenging their gods. Before dividing it, they quarrelled about their respective shares; they turned their arms against each other; many fell; and when the minions opened the supposed treasure, they found only books and relics, which in their indignation they dispersed in the plain. To revenge the martyr, a Christian army then invaded the country, and committed great slaughter on the pagans.*

700 In his gigantic labours, St. Boniface, as we have already observed, was assisted by several ecclesiastics, mostly English, of whom the greater number have attained the same honours of canonisation. Among these were two brothers, *Willibald*, the biographer of Boniface, and *Wunibald*, both related to the archbishop. The former, who was born in 700, accompanied by his brother, went in 720 on a pilgrimage to Rome. This journey, however, far from satisfying his piety or his curiosity, only stimulated him to undertake a voyage to the Holy Land, where he was absent about seven years. On his return he professed in Monte Casino, but there he was not long suffered to remain; by Gregory III. he was induced to join his kinsman, St. Boniface, in Germany, who consecrated him bishop of Aichstadt. Before this time Wunibald had joined the same saint, who placed him in a monastery in Thuringia. The period of their deaths cannot be ascertained, but both were reverenced as apostles of Germany. St. *Lully*, who lived until 737, who merited the same humble distinc-

* S. Willibaldus, Vita S. Bonifacii, cap. 1—4. Othonius Fuldensis, De Vita et Virtutibus S. Bonifacii, lib. i. et ii. p. 337—368. Anon. Vita ejusdem, cap. 1—3. S. Leodegarius, Vita S. Gregorii Ultrajectini, passim. Bollandiste, Acta Sanctorum, Die Junii v. Mabillon, Acta SS. Ord. S. Ben. tom. iv. Alfordus, Annales Ecclesiae Anglo-Saxonicae, tom. ii. (sub annis). Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique, tom. ix. (sub annis). Schmidt, Histoire des Allemands, tom. i. chap. 12. Canisius, Thesaurus Monumentorum, tom. iii. p. 334, &c. Dacherius, Spicilegium, tom. ix. p. 63. Yepes, Coronica General de San Benito, tom. iii. Centuria tercera (sub annis).

tion, as did also *St. Burchard*, bishop of Wirsburg, who died about the middle of the same century. *St. Gregory* of Utrecht was not an Englishman, but a Frank, of greater celebrity than any of the preceding. He joined St. Boniface about the year 719, long before that celebrated man had acquired a name, or been honoured with the delegated authority of the pope. The way in which he became connected with the fortunes of his superior is interesting. As Boniface journeyed from Friuli to Hesse, he sought the hospitality of Adela, abbess of a nunnery which she had founded near Treyses. After he had celebrated mass, and had placed himself at table with the community, a youth aged about fifteen was desired to read during the repast. The youth read well, though, as it appears, without much knowledge of the Latin original ; for when desired by St. Boniface to construe it in his vulgar tongue, he was unable to do so. The saint translated it for him with such impressiveness, that the youth resolved to accompany him for the benefit of his instructions. But he was the grandson of the abbess ; that abbess was the daughter of Dagobert III., and too proud willingly to permit a member of her family to follow an unknown ecclesiastic. Gregory, however, offended her pride still more by asserting, that if she did not immediately furnish him with horses and servants, he would follow the holy man on foot. He gained his object, accompanied the missionary into Thuringia, and supported the privations of his new state—privations chiefly occasioned by the devastations of the Saxons—with unshaken resolution. After the death of his friend he governed the church of Utrecht with great reputation ; nor did that event deter him from preaching the Gospel to the Frisians. Of his extreme moderation, his unwillingness to punish those guilty even of great crimes, we have a characteristic anecdote by his friend and disciple St. Ludger. Two of his brothers had been murdered in a forest ; the murderers were seized, and, in conformity with barbaric custom, were brought to

him, that he might decide on their fate. He caused them to be bathed, clothed, fed, and quietly dismissed, with this gentle admonition :— “ Go in peace, but refrain hereafter from crime, lest a worse thing happen to you.” He practised, in its literal sense, that divine injunction,— “ Bless those that curse you ;” it was his daily practice to show peculiar kindness to those who injured him. He died in 776, leaving behind him a reputation for goodness unrivalled even in that age.— One of his disciples was St. Libanus, or Lebwin, an English missionary, who, as we have before related, had the courage to denounce woful calamities on the Saxons, if they persisted in refusing the Gospel of Jesus Christ.* He is generally known as the apostle of Daventer, where he built the first church ; and though it was soon burnt by the pagans, the victories of Charlemagne soon enabled him to renew his labours ; which he continued with indefatigable courage unto his death, in 773. Both in Saxony and Frisia, he was succeeded as a missionary by *St. Willibrord*, another countryman, who equalled him in zeal, and exceeded him in reputation. In 770, from the place where St. Boniface was martyred, he plunged into the most savage part of the country,— in the hope, no doubt, of the same fate. On one occasion, it was very near realisation : some barbarians proposed to sacrifice him to the deities whom he reviled ; others, with more wisdom, contended that, as he was guilty of no crime, he did not merit death, and that, in the darkness of human knowledge, nobody could be certain that the religion he preached was not actually the true one. The reasoning of the philosophic barbarians did not prevent the rest from casting lots on his fate ; but chance or providence was favourable, and he was suffered to proceed. In another place, he and his disciples assailed the pagan temples with such hearty good will, that the incensed natives, after soundly cudgelling him, prepared to put him to death. The sword,

* See page 29. of the present volume.

however, says his biographer, refused to do its work, and the saint escaped. In Saxony, he laboured with equal zeal, unless the wars between Witikind and Charlemagne impeded him : when hostilities ceased, he always returned to the spiritual field, filled with new courage and hope. His success may be inferred from the conversion of Witikind, from the baptism of thousands among the subjects of the brave barbarian, from the destruction of the idols even on the sacred Heligoland, and from the erection of several bishoprics, with innumerable churches. In 787, he was consecrated bishop of Eastern Frisia, with part of Saxony ; and he fixed his metropolis at Bremen, now richly endowed by the munificent piety of the king. But his life was not to be protracted : his austerities had injured his constitution. Throughout life he had refrained not merely from animal food, but from fish, nor did he drink any thing but water ; and though pope Adrian commanded him in his declining days to use a more nourishing diet, the order came too late ; he died in 789. — Not less celebrated than any of the preceding, was *St. Sturm*, another disciple of St. Boniface. A native of Bononia, and confided when young to the care of the English apostle, he was made to study in the monastery of Frislard, a foundation of that apostle. Though he was ordained priest, he soon expressed a wish to retire from the world. Having received the usual benediction from St. Boniface, and a command to seek a retreat in one of the numerous forests of Western Germany, he and his companions soon founded the monastery of Hirsfield ; but being apprehensive of injury from the incursions of the Saxons, he ascended the Fulda, and on its banks laid the foundation of the monastery of that name, the most illustrious in the empire. The rule adopted was that of St. Benedict, as practised in Monte-Casino itself, which Sturm visited for the sole purpose of observing it. The monastery of Fulda was soon amply endowed ; and it prospered so much, that its founder had the satisfaction to num-

ber 400 monks, exclusive of novices, priests, and domestics. The abbot was not always confined to this retreat, which he left more than once to labour at the conversion of the Saxons, and to fulfil some embassies with which he was intrusted by Charlemagne.—*St. Ludger* was another of the missionaries among the Frisians and Saxons, and one destined to exceed most of them in zeal, and in success. His biographer does not forget to tell us that Providence only saved his mother when an infant, and consequently that the same providence destined him to future glory. His mother was the offspring of pagan parents, and was doomed, immediately after her birth,—that is, before she had sucked the breast,—to be destroyed; for the custom of the Germanic nation permitted, under that condition, the murder of the infant: if, however, the infant had tasted either its mother's milk or ordinary food, the deed would have been homicide.* On this occasion, the domestic charged with the drowning of the infant, could not immediately effect her purpose; for, as if sensible of its intention, it spread out its arms so as to impede its descent into the cistern or vase. A woman passing at the time, influenced by natural pity, or perhaps by the inspiration of Heaven, took away the devoted victim, and fed it,—thus securing it against similar attempts. That female infant became the mother of two canonised bishops, Ludger and Hildegram; and of several daughters, who in their turn gave birth to distinguished churchmen. At an early age, Ludger was placed under the care of St. Gregory of Utrecht, who, perceiving the bent of his disposition, gave him the monastic habit. The new monk, however, soon passed into England, where, during four years, he was benefited by the institutions of Alcuin, one of the most distinguished ornaments of the age. On his return to Utrecht, he was admitted into holy orders, and sent on a mission into Friesland. There he laboured

* The laws of the Frisians and Saxons in the valuable collection (*Codex Legum Antiquarum*) afford indubitable evidence of this melancholy fact.

seven years, from 776 to 783, until the incursions of the Saxons forced him to retire. After that fierce people had been taught humility by the victorious arms of Charlemagne, he resumed his labours among both nations. In 802, his zeal and success placed him over the new diocese of Munster. It was his intention to preach the Gospel to the Danes; but the emperor, who had need of his services, prevented its execution. Of his virtues we have a high, and, doubtless, a faithful account by his biographer, Altfrid. In fact, the man who passed so great a portion of his life among savage barbarians, in privations and dangers, could not fail to have virtues. He died in 809.*

A greater missionary than any of the preceding, except St. Boniface, was *St. Anscar*, apostle of the north. Of his early years we know little beyond the relation of his credulous biographer, St. Rembert, who, though his disciple and successor, has not failed to incorporate into the narration quite as much of the fabulous as of the probable. But some of the things which the admiring writer reports as miraculous, are easily explicable. Anscar appears from his infancy to have been gifted with imagination; and this faculty, added to a devotional frame of mind, doubtless gave rise to much enthusiasm — even to much self-deception. That such a character should have frequent dreams; that he should ascribe them to special revelation, was natural. In the following, which he had during his novitiate in the monastery of the Old Corbey, and which had great influence over his future life, there is little that might not, and probably did not, happen. He dreamed that he was dying, while invoking the aid of St. Peter the apostle and St. John the Evangelist.

800
to
875.

* The preceding paragraph is founded on the authorities in the *Acta Sanctorum de Bollandis*; on those in Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ord. S. Benedicti*; on those in Canisius, *Thessaurus Monumentorum*; on Surius, *De Probatiss Vitis Sanctorum*; on Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*; on Eginherd, *Annales Regum Francorum*; on the Chronicles of Regino and Hermannus Contractus; on Adam of Bremen, *Historia Ecclesiastica*; on the *Annales Ecclesiastice Anglo-Saxonice* of Alford; on Yepes, *Coronica General de la Orden de S. Benito*; on Fleury, *Histoire Ecclésiastique*; on Pfeffel, *Histoire d'Allemagne*, and on others too numerous to be cited.

" And when, as it seemed to him, his soul left his body, and assumed one of far greater beauty, — one free from human imperfections, — at that moment there appeared the two just mentioned. One of them, much older than the other, with plain, silvery, yet close-set hair, with a ruddy countenance, yet serious look, with a garment white and coloured, of a low stature, he easily recognised as St. Peter. The other, much taller and younger, bearded and curly-haired, with a thin, yet smiling countenance, and in an embroidered vestment, he also intuitively knew as St. John. They placed themselves at each side of him. And his soul, as he thought, being wonderfully conducted by those saints, proceeded, without effort, through the immense light which filled the universe, until it arrived at a place which by intuition he certainly knew to be purgatory, where his conductors left him. There he sustained many grievous things, the chief of which seemed impenetrable darkness, heavy oppression and suffocation ; and though his memory failed him as to the details of his situation, he yet remembered enough to wonder how such pain could exist. And having been tormented, as he thought, about three days, — which space, such was the extreme severity of his sufferings, appeared to him a thousand years, — the two saints reappeared, took their stations by him, and with countenances much more joyful than before, they conducted him much more delightfully, if possible too, through greater splendour, without motion and without path. To use his own words, ' I saw long ranks of saints, some near, some in the distant ether, stretching from the east, yet looking towards it ; praising Him who appeared in the east, adoring Him, some with bowed heads, others with erect countenances and open hands. And when we came to east, behold twenty-four elders, sitting according as it is written in the Apocalypse, on their thrones, with an ample space before them ; these also, looking reverently towards the east, uttered unspeakable praises to the Lord. And as they thus sang, the ineffable harmony and sweetness penetrated into my soul ; yet, on my return to the body, I lost the impression. In that east was a wonderful splendour, a light inaccessible, dazzling, and boundless, in which was contained every lovely colour, and every delight ; and all the legions of saints who stood rejoicing around it, derived happiness from it. And this splendour was so boundless, that I could discern neither the beginning nor end. And even when I was able to look at it a little more narrowly, I could not discern the inward recesses of that immense glory, but the surface only ; yet could I believe Him to be present, ' on whom,' according to St. Peter, ' angels desire to look : ' for from Him proceeded that consuming

brightness in which the angelic legions were clothed. He appeared to be in all, and all in Him : outwardly He surrounded all ; inwardly all were sustained and governed by Him ; above He protected them, below He upheld them. There was no sun or moon, no heaven or earth. Yet this glory was not of that species which pains and blinds ; it was, on the contrary, most agreeable to the eyes. And when I said that the elders were sitting, I might have said, they all sat in Him ; for there was nothing corporeal, but all was incorporeal, though the form was bodily,—all ineffably beautiful. The glory proceeding from Him encompassed them about like the rainbow. And when I was brought by the said apostles before that immensity of glory, where the majesty of the Highest seemed to be, a voice, indescribably sweet, yet awfully distinct, capable of pervading all space, said unto me, ‘ Depart, and when thou hast won the martyr’s crown, return unto me ! ’ At these words the concourse of saints, hitherto sweetly singing, were silent, and worshipped with subdued looks.’ ”

This dream Anscar was accustomed to relate to his intimate friends, and to look on martyrdom as the destined termination of his earthly career. When, in 826, Harold, the dethroned king of Denmark, besought the aid of the emperor Louis, and embraced the Christian religion, an ecclesiastic was wanted to accompany him back to his kingdom, to establish him and his attendants in the faith they had nominally embraced. That the Danes were savage idolaters, was known to all ; that Harold would succeed in his attempts to recover the crown, was doubtful ; the spirit which had animated St. Boniface and his disciples had fled ; and nobody seemed willing to undertake the perilous mission, which was about to be abandoned in despair, when Wala, abbot of Corbey, remembered that he had a monk in his community, willing to die for Jesus Christ. Anscar was immediately summoned and interrogated ; nor, on this trying occasion, did he shrink from his professions : he accepted the mission, much to the surprise of ecclesiastics, now, through the munificence of the Carlovingian princes, grown prosperous, even luxurious, and averse not merely to danger, but to fatigue. This torpid zeal, this moral cowardice, is perhaps an inevitable effect of

worldly prosperity. By some of his friends the adventurous monk was upbraided for rashness ; for what sober-minded Christian would leave his home to sojourn with a people so dark and barbarous ? One day, however, a brother of the same monastery, named Aubert, engaged to accompany him, if he could obtain the abbot's permission. As Aubert was of a noble family, the superior was surprised ; yet he granted the request, on the condition, however, that, if none of the humbler monastic domestics would voluntarily accompany them, they must go without servants. " I will force no one on such a service," he observed, " neither will I detain any one who chooses it." When the time of their departure arrived, the two monks set out on foot, and laden with baggage ; few of king Harold's retinue showed a disposition to aid them. At Cologne, however, the archbishop gave them a boat, in which they descended to the sea, and from thence, through Frisia, they reached the empire of Denmark. There the king, instead of promoting his great enterprise, remained in a castle which the emperor had given him : but the missionaries were not idle ; they began to instruct the neighbouring pagans, they opened a school for the young, and they purchased young slaves, whom they carefully instructed in the true faith. Though death removed his fellow-labourer, Anscar no less persevered ; we are told, with considerable success. In 829, hearing that many in Sweden were not unfavourably disposed towards Christianity, the emperor resolved to send missionaries among them as before. Nobody would undertake the perilous charge except Anscar, who, for that purpose, left king Harold's household ; but a monk of Corbey was ordered by the abbot to accompany him. They embarked, but had not made above half their passage, when they fell in with Scandinavian pirates, who took all they had. They contrived, however, to reach the nearest land, the most southern extremity of the great Scandinavian peninsula ; and from thence they passed as they could,

through a wild, marshy, uninhabited country, until they reached Birca or Biork, the capital, a place apparently not far from the modern Stockholm. They were favourably received by king Biorn, who, with the advice of his council, permitted them to preach and to baptize ; nor were they unsuccessful. In six months, however, they returned to France, for the purpose, says St. Rembert, of relating what they had done, and of soliciting further aid ; but why both of them should thus return, leaving the new flock without a shepherd, we are not informed. That Anscar might the more entirely devote his attention to the conversion of the Goths, he was anointed archbishop of Hamburg, with a jurisdiction over all the countries beyond the Elbe ; and, still more to establish his authority, he was appointed papal legate in those regions. As the new see of Hamburg was very circumscribed, and very poor, Louis annexed to it the revenues of a monastery in the Low Countries. The same legatine authority was also delegated to Ebbo, archbishop of Rheims, who had exhibited great zeal in the cause. Ebbo immediately consecrated a bishop, named Gansbert, whom he despatched as his vicar into Sweden ; but Ebbo, having the imprudence to join in a conspiracy to dethrone the emperor, was soon afterwards discarded from his dignity; so that the whole superintendence of the mission again rested on Anscar. Having fixed his seat at Hamburg, the latter proceeded with zeal to convert the pagans bordering on his see. In a few years, however, the Normans assailed the place, plundered, and set it on fire ; nor was it without difficulty that the archbishop with his clergy escaped, to wander from place to place in poverty and sorrow. In this conflagration he lost his earthly substance, even his books and raiment ; and, what he felt still more deeply, the fruit of so many labours. His sorrow was not alleviated by the news that the Swedish mission, to which his heart yearned, had entirely failed, by the expulsion of Gansbert. In his own case, as in that

of others, evils came not singly ; for he was deprived by the new king of his only means of support, his monastery. He passed some time in the utmost poverty ; but in the end he found, that if, amidst the vicissitudes of life, disasters are frequent, so good fortune is not uncommon. At length, after he was abandoned by every body, even by the monks who had vowed poverty, but who found *his* too much to endure, the see of Bremen, then vacant, was attached to the archbishopric of Hamburg, — a measure not much in accordance with the spirit of the canons, yet, in the then situation of affairs, not unjustifiable. With his increased means Anscar again applied himself to the northern missions. He first sent a priest who had been a holy anchorite, Ardgar, into Sweden, to confirm the few who remained Christians in their faith ; but Ardgar soon returned, without, as it appears, effecting any good beyond administering the last sacrament to two dying persons ; so that the infant church was again deserted. The archbishop was partially consoled for this failure by an unexpected opening for the propagation of Christianity in Denmark. He had been chosen ambassador to the reigning king Eric, whose favour, with the view of ultimate conversion, he was assiduous in cultivating. He even obtained the royal permission to build a church at Sleswic ; many converts were made ; nor was their attachment to the new faith diminished by the increased commerce which assured security attracted to the place. But what filled the prelate with dissatisfaction was, to find that the converts, actuated by the hope of worldly pleasure, and impressed with the regenerating powers of baptism, preferred to remain in the catechumenical state unto their last sickness, when the miraculous laver would at once effectually cleanse them from a life of transgressions. It frequently happened, however, that the sick recovered, and were in consequence bound to support the character they had assumed. This successful commencement in the one kingdom, only rendered Anscar the more desirous to effect it in the other. He prevailed on bishop

Gansbert to return ; but, to secure a more favourable result, he himself applied to Louis, king of Germany, for an embassy to king Olaf. Eric of Denmark, too, wrote a letter to that monarch, in which he assured his Swedish brother that he believed Anscar to be a man surpassingly good, more sincere than any one he had ever known ; that he had consequently allowed him to make proselytes in Denmark, as one who had evidently no other object in view than the good of mankind. When the archbishop, however, reached Birca, he found that this favourable combination of circumstances was likely to avail him little. The priests of the country, alarmed at the progress of Christianity in the north, and trembling for their reign, had recourse to a very bold imposture. A man suddenly appeared in the capital, who asserted that he had been permitted to attend a general assembly of the gods, and been honoured with a communication from them to king Olaf and his people. The substance of the communication was, that the ancient deities had conferred great prosperity on the Swedes ; that they had hitherto had reason to be satisfied with the sacrifices offered to them, but that at present there was a lamentable decline in these tokens of devotion ; that they were still more offended with the attempts of the Swedes to introduce the worship of a new and hostile deity. " If," concluded the warriors of Walhalla, " you really wish for a new god, we will willingly admit to the honours of deification your departed king Eric." The grossness of the imposture was not detected ; the hearts of the people began to warm towards the gods of their fathers ; a temple was erected to Eric, whose altars smoked with sacrifices. The prospect appeared so unfavourable, that the Christian friends to whom Anscar unfolded his mission, advised him to return ; they even even thought that the presents he had brought would hardly suffice to rescue him from the newly kindled fanaticism. But the prelate was not to be daunted by dangers ; in fact, he knew

more of the national superstition than they, — that it might be made to serve his purpose, even when human hope was at an end. Professing, however, his willingness, if need should be, to die for the faith, he resolved to proceed with his mission. He first invited Olaf to an entertainment ; he omitted none of the attentions which in similar circumstances he had formerly shown to Eric of Denmark ; nor was he less successful. On hearing the purport of his voyage, Olaf replied, with a liberality characteristic of an enlightened pagan, and of a limited monarch, — “ So far as depends on me, the request shall be granted, but the gods must be consulted first, and so also must my people, who have the management of all public affairs. If thou wilt send a messenger to the approaching assembly, I will speak for thee, and acquaint thee with the resolution that may be taken.” Olaf first mentioned the subject to his chiefs ; lots were cast ; and the gods were declared—probably through some intrigue of the king’s—not to be unfavourable to the preaching of Christianity. When, according to the Germanic custom, the people were assembled in their annual plaids, Olaf caused the subject of the French embassy to be proclaimed by a herald. In the discussion which followed, much murmuring was heard ; one party condemning the innovation as disrespectful to their ancient gods ; another vindicating it as necessary to the well-being of the kingdom. A venerable old man at length spoke : — “ King and people, listen to me ! The worship of this new god is already known to us, and we also know that he often assists those who call on him. This many of us have experienced amidst the perils of the deep, as well as on other occasions : why then should we reject what we know to be useful ? Formerly many of our people went to Dorstadt, to embrace this advantageous faith ; now, as the passage thither is dangerous, why should we reject a good which is brought to our own doors ? ” — “ We have often found our own gods unpropitious : let us cultivate the favour of this god, who is as willing

as he is able always to aid his servants." The shrewd barbarian succeeded, because he touched in the hearts of his hearers a chord that responded to his own. Neither he nor they had much notion of a religion which did not confer temporal blessings ; all had been disappointed at one time or other in their invocations for them ; all, therefore, were disposed to receive favourably proposals from a god who promised them a constant succession of such blessings. This was a poor foundation on which to build ; but it was better than none. A proclamation was now made that churches might be built, and that whoever pleased was at liberty to embrace the faith of Christ. While these things were passing in Sweden, a revolution in Denmark was fatal to Eric, and, for a time, to the new religion, which the next king prohibited. But this time was a brief one ; for the prudence of Anscar, who now returned from Sweden, fully repaired the disaster. The ecclesiastics whom he sent to both countries he enjoined to imitate the example of St. Paul,—to labour for their own maintenance, so as to be chargeable to no one. It was probably this necessity of manual labour that rebutted many, even more than the persecutions they endured ; for, during the whole of his pontificate, he had great difficulty in providing the infant churches with pastors. This celebrated man, whose austerities commanded the reverence of his contemporaries, and whose virtues must command that of posterity, died soon after the restoration of Christianity in Denmark. His last moments were distinguished by zealous exhortations to others, and by pious exercises as regarded himself. On the 3d day of February, 865, having caused Te Deum and the creed ascribed to St. Athanasius to be chanted, and having himself repeated the three following verses,

Secundum misericordiam tuam memento mihi, propter bonitatem tuam, Domine !

Deus, propitius esto mihi peccatori !

In manus tuas, Domine, commendō spiritum meum !

he gave up the ghost. Thus his death — much, evidently to his surprise — was natural. In his last sickness he expressed the disappointment he felt at not being permitted to shed his blood for the truth. This he could not impute to any change in the counsels of the Deity, but to his own transgressions, which rendered him unworthy of so bright a crown. To relieve him from this dilemma, his friend and biographer, St. Rembert, observes, that there are two species of martyrdom ; the one visible and bodily, during the persecution of the church ; the other invisible, yet not the less effectual, since the cares, the fatigues, the privations, which waste life, and bring us earlier to the grave, have in them as much of the essence of martyrdom as death at the stake. In this there is doubtless much truth ; but, whatever was the explication of the biographer, we must infer that St. Anscar's dream was not fulfilled, or that the enthusiasm of his fancy caused him, perhaps unconsciously, to add to it something of his own. However this be, he must be reverenced as one of the great lights of the church, as the apostle of Scandinavia, as the benefactor of his species.*

If we except St. Ulric of Augsburg (died 973), whose life has no particular claim on our notice, the other distinguished saints of Gaul and of Germany, during the period under consideration, may be found in the list of writers.

II. If from the *religious* we pass to the *intellectual* state of Germanic Europe, from the fifth to the tenth century, we shall find something worthy of notice. In the fifth century, the invasions of the barbarians would inevitably extinguish the expiring embers of civilisation. In the preceding century, however, philosophy, poetry, and the sciences were studied, with diminished success.

* S. Rembertus, Vita S. Anscarri, cap. 1—17. Gualdo, Vita Metrica ejusdem, cap. 1—17. Adamus Bremensis, Historia Ecclesiastica, lib. i. cap. 12—27. Joannes Magnus, Historia Gothorum, lib. xvii. can. 2. Saxo Grammaticus, Historia Danica, lib. ix. p. 175, &c. Snorro Sturleson, Heims Kringla, Konung Olaf Tryggwassons Saga, tom. i. p. 290. Bojjlandiæ, Acta Sanctorum, die Feb. iii. Yepes, Cronica General de San Benito, tom. iv. (sub annis.) Baronius, Annales Ecclesiasticæ (sub annis.)

indeed, but with ardour ; before the termination of the fifth, those objects of the intellect were generally neglected. In the sixth, the evil rapidly augmented. Of this decline St. Avitus, early in the century, speaks ; the complaints, towards its close, of St. Gregory of Tours, which are still more bitter, prove that the interval between the two churchmen had been remarkable for any thing but improvement : " *Væ diebus nostris,*" exclaims the latter, " *quia periit studium literarum in nobis !*" Yet the age had its writers, and in no mean number : " *Mais,*" exclaim the monks of St. Maur, with honest indignation, " *mais, grand Dieu, quels écrivains pour la plupart !*" Their first and most obvious defect was their total want of criticism. Hence their style is barbarous, and their works are without method. But this, even, is not the worst. The general character of the century was credulity ; by almost every writer miracles are perpetually adduced to prove the sanctity of individuals ; nor among the prodigious number of Gallic saints is there one that cannot lay claim to extraordinary manifestations in his favour. The taste for the marvellous became so great, that the natural and simple were discarded from composition. Of this fact there is evidence enough in any writer, especially in the authors of the legendary lives of canonised individuals. No high opinion could be formed of mental culture, where the grossest superstitions, the inevitable offspring of credulity, were practised, not by ignorant laymen only, but by celebrated ecclesiastics. Thus, when the priests of Dijon wished to know what would be the fate of Chramnis, son of Clothaire, who had rebelled against his father, and who had defeated his two brothers sent to reduce him, they had recourse to the divination of the saints. They placed on the altar three books, the Prophets, the epistles of St. Paul, and the Gospels. Having opened the first at random, the passage which presented itself was :— "*And now go to ; I will tell you what I will do to my vineyard. I will take away the hedge thereof, and it shall be eaten up ; and break down*

the wall thereof, and it shall be trodden down. And I will lay it waste," &c.* The second book exhibited,— "*For yourselves know perfectly, that the day of the Lord so cometh as a thief in the night. For when they shall say, Peace and safety, then sudden destruction cometh upon them, as travail upon a woman with child; and they shall not escape.*"† Both these denunciations were sufficiently appalling; nor did the third book opened, that of the Gospels, weaken the prediction:—" *And every one that heareth these sayings of mine and doeth them not, shall be likened unto a foolish man, which built his house upon the sand: and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house, and it fell, and great was the fall of it.*"‡ What could be more certain than the fate of poor Chramnis? That, in 560, he was burnt alive, together with his wife and children, by order of his father, is a melancholy truth; but who will believe that the prediction did not follow the event? That day twelve months Clothaire paid the debt of nature. From such an age, whose credulity could swallow every thing, no one can expect compositions of superior merit. But if the quality was inferior, the quantity, as we have before observed, was considerable. The Latin language, however barbarous, was the language not only of scholars, but even of kings and nobles. That the clergy should know something of it was obligatory; the offices and prayers of the church were in it; so also were the laws of the kingdom, and the decrees of the monarchs. It was spoken by Childebert, Charibert, and Chilperic; and, in imitation of them, by many nobles of the court. It was still, even among the Franks, the only language of books; for though that people had their own Germanic dialect, they could not use it, even in the daily intercourse of life, except among themselves; since the native Gauls adhered to the Latin, however corrupted in its in-

* Isaiah, v. 5, 6.

+ 1 Thessalonians, v. 2, 3.

† Matthew, vii. 26, 27. Not long ago, probably even now, this was a favourite mode of divination by John Wesley's followers.

flexions, and altered in its structure. All the cathedral churches had schools attached to them, where not only that language was taught, but some knowledge, however superficial, of such sciences as were known. That such knowledge must inevitably be superficial, we know from the fact, that those sciences were studied only in so far as they threw light on theology. Many monasteries imitated the example of the cathedrals, and with greater success. These places well deserve the reverence in which they are held by the best and wisest of mankind ; for they only afforded, at some periods, a secure refuge to religion and to learning. In all ages the secular church has been but too apt to follow the passing current, whether that current led to good or to evil, to knowledge or to ignorance ; while the regular or monastic church, though hearing the storm of human passions roar at a distance, escaped its fury, and pursued, without any important revolution, the even tenour of its way. All the monastic institutes rendered frequent reading obligatory. Thus St. Cesarius of Arles enjoins the monks to read all the time from primes to tierce, or from six to nine o'clock ; nor does he desire the nuns to escape with fewer than two hours daily. Thus the rule observed in the monastery of Ternat relieves none of the inmates from devoting two hours, at least, to the same occupation. Thus did St. Benedict and St. Columbanus even more earnestly insist on the same exercise, and set apart for it even a greater portion of time. Nor were the books of that uniform legendary or devotional character which we usually suppose. Thus, in the list of those perused by St. Radegund, the nun of Poitiers, we have not only the Holy Scriptures and the lives of saints, but the fathers of the church, Greek as well as Latin ; Athanasius, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzen, no less than Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustin. There were also the Christian poets, as Sedulius, and the historians, as Orosius. Every monastery had its library ; MSS. were laboriously multiplied by transcription ; and encouragement was always given

to original composition. Some, even of the most ascetic fathers, enjoined transcription in preference to manual labour, during the interstices of time between the canonical hours of devotion,—probably not so much on account of its utility, as because it involved the double exercise of the body and mind.*

450 The first writer of the sixth century, who has a peculiar claim on our consideration, is *St. Avitus*, bishop of Vienne. His life is not prolific in events. Born about the middle of the fifth century, of a patrician family in Auvergne, educated at the public school of Vienne, and destined to the ecclesiastical state, about the fortieth year of his age he succeeded St. Mamert in that see. As a prelate he is chiefly known for the zeal and ability with which he defended the creed of Athanasius, and the consequent hostilities which he waged against Arianism. His arguments are said to have confounded Gundebald of Burgundy; and though that prince could not be persuaded to embrace the orthodox doctrine, the influence of the prelate on Sigismund, son of Gundebald, was more successful. With the monarch many of the Burgundians recognised the deity of Christ. But it is for his literary merits that St. Avitus is most celebrated,—for them that he is so highly prized, not only by his countrymen, but by foreigners; by St. Isidore of Seville, as well as by Gregory of Tours, and Agobard of Lyons. Such of his works as are extant (the greater number have perished) consist of letters, sermons on the Rogations, and of poems; the last by far the most considerable as well as most important of his writings. He is beyond doubt the most distinguished poet of the period before us. His compositions, which are six in number, are all in hexameters, and are essentially ecclesiastical. The first, *On the Creation*,

* S. Gregorius Turonensis, *Historia Ecclesiastica Francorum*, lib. iv. cap. 16 et 20. (in multis aliis locis). Fortunatus Pictavensis, *Opera*, lib. vi. p. 143. lib. viii. cap. 1. Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ord. S. Benedicti*, tom. i. passim. Cassiodorus, *De Institutione Divinarum Scripturarum*, lib. ii. cap. 7. The Monks of St. Maur, *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. ii. p. 3—St. Guizot, *Histoire de la Civilisation en France*, tom. ii. p. 113, &c.

contains 325 verses ; the second, On Original Sin, 423 ; the third, On the Judgment of God as exhibited in the Expulsion from Paradise, 435 ; the fourth, On the Deluge, 658 ; the fifth, On the Passage of the Red Sea, 719 ; and the last, In Praise of Virginity, 666. All these are connected in subject, and may be termed parts of the same work. The first of these poems, *De Origine Mundi*, has been justly admired, by the few who have perused it, for its descriptions, some of which, according to Guizot, would scarcely suffer by a comparison even with Milton. The following, however, relating to the garden of Eden, reminds us rather of Mrs. Barbauld's hymns than of the *Paradise Lost** : —

“ Beyond the Indies, where the world begins, where heaven and earth border on each other, there yet remains a lofty place, inaccessible to mortal man, and closed by eternal barriers,

* “ Ergo ubi transmissis mundi caput incipit India,
 Quo perhibent terram confinia jungere coelo,
 Locus inaccessa cunctis mortalibus arce
 Permanet, aeterno conclusus limine. Postquam hinc
 Decidit expulsus primævi criminis auctor,
 Proque reis dique felici ab sede revulsis
 Celestes hac sancta capit nunc terra ministros.
 Non hic alterni succedit temporia unquam
 Bruma, nec aestivi redeunt post frigora solea.
 Excelsus calidum cum reddit circulus annum,
 Vel densante gelu canescunt arva pruinis,
 Hic ver assiduum colli clementia servat :
 Turbidus Auster abest, semperque sub aere sudo
 Nubila diffugunt jugi cessura sereno.
 Nec poscit natura loci, quas non habet imbre,
 Sed contenta sua dotantur germina rore.
 Perpetuo viret omne solum, terræque nitentis
 Blanda nitet facies : stant semper collibus herbæ,
 Arboribusque comeæ ; quæ cum se flore frequenti
 Diffundunt, celeri solidant suo germina succo.
 Neu quidquid nobis toto nunc nascitur anno
 Menstrua maturo dant illic tempora fructu.
 Lilii perlucunt, nullo placentia sole,
 Nec tactus violat violas, roseumque ruborem
 Servans perpetua suffundit gratia vultu.
 Illic defudans fragrantia balsama ramus,
 Perpetuum proruit pingui de stipite fluxum.
 Tum si forte levia movit spiramina vencus,
 Flatibus exiguis, lenique impulsa susurro
 Dives silva tremit foliis, et flore salubri,
 Qui sparsus, latè suaves dispensat odores.
 Hic fons perspicuo resplendens gurgite surgit ;
 Talis in argento non fulget gratia, tantum
 Nec crystalla trahunt nitido de frigore lucem.”

Alcimus Avitus Viennensis, lib. i. p. 397.

Ever since the author of primeval sin fell from his high estate—ever since the wicked were righteously expelled from that blissful seat, it has been inhabited by celestial beings. There no change of seasons brings the biting frost, no summer sun succeeds the ice of winter. While elsewhere the revolving year brings the sultry heat, or the fields are white with the hoar frost, there the temperature of the climate preserves an eternal spring : there the turbid Auster flies far away ; away too flee the clouds from that pure air and serene sky. No need has the soil of the refreshing rains ; and the plants thrive in their own dew. The ground is ever green, its surface always shining in vernal beauty : the hills are always covered with grass, the trees with foliage ; and though the latter always put forth flowers, their strength is quickly accrued in their sap. Fruits which, among us, yield their sweets only once in the revolving year, there ripen with every moon : there the lilies are not faded by the sun ; there no touch sullies the violets ; there the rose, perpetually blooming, gives unwearied pleasure to the eye. There the plant exudes the fragrant balm,—the stream always flowing from the rich trunk. And when at times the breeze arises, the lovely forest, roused by the gentle breath, waves, amidst sweetly-pleasing murmurs, its leaves and flowers, which far and wide disperse their fragrant odours. There a pellucid fountain is fed by the shining spring, surpassing in brilliancy the polished silver, and the sparkling crystal of the ice."

This description is certainly imaginative. Not less so are those (in Books II. and III.) which contain the relation of the Fall, — the arts of the serpent, the vanity of Eve, the weakness of Adam, their transgression, and expulsion from Paradise. To them, Milton, whose acquaintance with the literature of the middle ages no one will deny, is thought to have been considerably indebted. This point, however, we dare not decide: the resemblance is indeed often most striking: but whether it be studied or accidental on the part of Milton; whether it arises from his perhaps unconscious imitation of St. Avitus, or from that similarity of conception with which identity of subject may often strike two poets, must remain doubtful. The reader may judge for himself, as well from the preceding extract, as from the following, which represents the behaviour of our first parents immediately after their expulsion :—

“ Tunc miseri egressum preparant, mundumque vacantem
 Intrant, et celeri perlustrant omnia cursu.
 Et quanquam variis herbis ac gramine picta,
 Et virides campos, fontesque et flumina monstrat,
 Illis foeda tamen species mundana putatur,
 Post, Paradise, tuam, totumque videntibus horror.
 Utque hominum mos est, studio majore negata
 Amplexi, et vetitis graviore incumbere curâ,
 Sic majore animo clausus Paradisus amatur.
 Quæque magis multo Paradiso extenditur, illis
 Angustatur humus, strictumque tuentibus orbem
 Omnia late nimis patent angusta duobus.
 Squallit et ipse dies, caussantur sole sub ipso
 Subductam lucem, cœlo suspensa remoto
 Astra gemunt, tactusque prius vix cernitur axis.
 Tunc inter curas permixti felle doloris
 Affactus sensere novos, et pectora pulsans
 Nondum compertus prorumpit fletus in undas,
 Attentisque genis injussus defluit humor.
 Haud aliter vivax deceptus mole caduca
 Spiritus, impleto venit cum terminus ævo,
 Post obitum peccata dolet, tum quidquid iniquum
 Gesserit, ad mentem revocat; jam poenitet omnes
 Errorum lapsus servet quos judice damnat.”

That this description has beauties, and great beauties, will be acknowledged by every scholar. Others equally good might be extracted, especially that of the Deluge, in which the author has manifestly imitated Ovid. Though, as might be expected, he must suffer when compared with that inimitable bard, he is yet always vigorous, often original, sometimes sublime. But, as our limits will barely allow us to direct attention to him, we must refrain from the agreeable task of translation or extraction, referring, as we do most earnestly, the curious reader to the collection of his poems.*

Contemporary with the bishop of Vienne, was a prelate no less celebrated, — *St. Cesarius of Arles.* Born in the neighbourhood of Châlons-sur-Saone, in the

470
to
542.

* *Bollandiste, Acta Sanctorum, Februarii Die Quinta.* The Monks of St. Maur, *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iii. p. 115—140. Alcimus *Avitus Viennensis, Poemata*, lib. i. *Die Origine Mundi*, p. 395. lib. ii. *De Peccato Originali*, p. 397. lib. iii. *De Sententiâ Dei*, p. 401. (*In Bibliotheca Patrum*, tom. vi. pars 1.) *Guizot, Histoire de la Civilisation*, tom. ii. p. 204.

year 470, distinguished even in his infancy for charity towards the poor, religiously disposed, and addicted to contemplation, at eighteen he received the tonsure from his diocesan, and prepared himself for holy orders. The two following years, however, he passed in a monastery, subjecting himself to such austerities, that his constitution was injured, and he was sent to the city of Arles to be benefited by medical aid. The bishop of that see, his kinsman, ordained him deacon, next priest ; but he continued the monastic observances, as if he were still within the cloister. He was soon placed over a religious house, where, doubtless, he wished to pass the remainder of his days ; but he was not to be thus withdrawn from the secular church. On the death of his kinsman (501), who had always intended him as the successor, though, to escape the honour designed him, he hid himself among the tombs, he was discovered, and with one voice raised to the vacant dignity. In his new station, the bishop never forgot his monastic propensities. He made his clergy join daily in three of the monastic offices,—tierce, sexts, and nones : on Saturdays, Sundays, and most of the festivals, primes were added ; and on all these occasions he persuaded the laity to attend, and join in the chanting. In his time preaching was never left to the presbyters or deacons, but was the peculiar province of the bishop. That he was an indefatigable preacher is proved by the frequency of his sermons,— he preached not only every Sunday, but on every fast or festival, often at matins and vespers, as well as at mass,— and that his heart was in the occupation, appears from the number of homilies he presented, not only to his brother prelates of Gaul, but to those of Italy and Spain. The rigour of his devotion could not, however, secure him from persecution. Arles, of which he was the bishop, was in the power of the Ostrogoths. As the government was Arian, he was suspected of wishing to deliver the place to the orthodox kings of Burgundy : on that suspicion he was banished ; but his innocence being esta-

blished, he was triumphantly recalled. Once, after an ineffectual siege of the place by the combined French and Burgundians, he exhibited his usual liberality — perhaps also his orthodox partiality — towards the numerous prisoners who were brought into the city, in a manner too characteristic to be omitted. When he had exhausted his own stores, and those amassed by his predecessor, he unhesitatingly seized the ornaments and vessels of the church, even to the chalices and censors, and with the produce arising from the sale administered to the necessities of the captives. When upbraided for this supposed sacrilege he replied, — “Our Saviour supped from an earthen dish, yet we must have silver plate. We may surely apply these vases to the redemption of those for whom He did not think his own blood too precious. I would fain know whether the men who blame me for thus redeeming the servants of Jesus Christ with church plate, would themselves refuse to be thus ransomed, if the same misfortune should reduce *them* to captivity ?” — During this siege he began the nunnery, of which his sister Cesaria was the first abbess. The rule which he composed for that community is sufficiently rigorous : he appears to have been the first monastic legislator who forbade the inmates, under any pretext, either to leave their cloisters, or to receive visits from any human being. Ecclesiastics of established virtue could be admitted into the church of the convent to pray ; but this was an indulgence very unwillingly granted. In other respects the rule was as severe as that of St. Benedict, which was composed about the same time, except that the devotional exercises were less frequent and shorter. We next hear of St. Cesarius in Italy, whither he appears to have been summoned to answer, before Theodoric, the charges affecting his loyalty. On this occasion the king, struck with his appearance of sanctity, not only received him with much courtesy, but reprobated the officiousness of those who had caused him so long and fatiguing a

journey. After the first interview, he received a valuable present from Theodoric,—a silver basin, weighing sixty pounds, and 300 sols in gold. “The king thy son beseeches thee, holy bishop, to accept, and for his sake, to use this vessel.” According to his custom, Cesarius sold the basin, and with the money redeemed several from captivity. From Ravenna, where he was reverenced as a saint, he proceeded to Rome, to defend the rights of his church, in a suit with that of Vienne: the dispute regarded their metropolitan jurisdiction over one or two suffragan sees. The pope decided in favour of Arles, and conferred the pallium on the bishop. We thus see that, even at this early period, the papal power over the church universal was recognised. Cesarius died in 543, and his sepulchre was bedewed with the tears of the widow and the orphan.*

The renown of this prelate was founded chiefly on his sermons, of which about one hundred and thirty are still extant. The best proof of his masculine understanding is afforded by the fact that while those of nearly all his contemporaries concerned the ascetic virtues of saints, or mystic allegories, *his* were based on the great duties of the Gospel. Simple, yet energetic; regardless of ornament, yet often redundantly illustrative; familiar, yet never coarse; zealous, yet never impasioned; aiming only at edification, and despising the vain pomp of words, the discourses of this prelate are above all distinguished for earnest yet calm expostulation: they are addressed as much to the understanding as to the heart. In his character as preacher, he resembles a father who endeavours to reclaim his children from vice or error by reasoning, by forcible illustration, by remonstrance, by any means rather than by blind authority. The following extract from an exhortation to a frequent perusal of Holy Scripture, will convey a better idea of his manner than a thousand general remarks:—

* *Bollandiste, Acta Sanctorum, Die Septemb. 27.* The rule for the nuns may be found in the *Acta S. Cesariæ Abbatissæ*, the sister of the bishop, *Die Januaril 6.* The Monks of St Maur, *Histoire Littéraire*, tom. iii. p. 190, &c. Fleury, *Histoire Ecclésiastique (sub annis)*.

"The care of your souls, dearest brethren, much resembles the cultivation of the ground. As in the latter we pluck up some things that better may be planted in their stead, so should we act in regard to our souls: we must pluck up what is bad; we must plant what is good: let pride be rooted out, and humility occupy its place; let avarice be removed, and mercy cultivated."— "No man can plant good things in his land unless he has first cleared it from such as are bad: in like manner thou canst not sow in thy sons the holy seeds of the virtues unless thou have first plucked up the thorns and thistles of the vices. Tell me, I pray thee, thou who hast just said that as thou art unable to read, thou canst not know, consequently not obey, the commands of God,—who has taught thee how to dress thy vine, and when to plant a new one? Whence thy knowledge of such things? Doubtless because thou 'hast seen the process, or hast heard somebody describe it, or hast enquired about it from some experienced husbandmen. If thou actest thus in regard to thy vine, why not also in regard to thy soul? There are, my brethren, I beseech you to observe, two sorts of fields; the one God's, the other man's: thou hast thy domain, which is the earth; the domain of God is the soul:—is it right to cultivate thine own possession and to neglect His? When thou perceivest thy land in a flourishing condition, thou rejoicest: why dost thou not weep to behold thy soul lying waste? In this world we have only a few days to live on the produce of our fields: let us then labour with all our strength, to the end that when he shall visit his field, which is our soul, he may find it cultivated, arranged, in good order; that he may perceive fruitful harvests, not thorns."

These illustrations, drawn from every-day life, perfectly adapted to the understandings, and calculated to influence the hearts, of the people, abound in the homilies of St. Cesarius. Thus in one where he is earnestly pressing on his audience the propriety of appearing earlier at church, he says,— "Sailors, silversmiths, blacksmiths, rise early, as you well know, to provide for the wants of the body: cannot we also rise early when we have an object so much more important in view,—to repair to church to solicit the pardon of our sins?" Again, in assailing the error,—common, it appears, to all ages,—that to refrain from evil will alone procure us eternal life, after observing that the

same Scripture which enjoins, "Avoid that which is evil," also adds, "Do that which is good," he continues. — "He who supposes that to have fled from evil is sufficient, may be asked whether he would be satisfied in receiving from his own servant the measure which he fills to his Lord: does any man wish that his servant do neither good nor harm? We all expect that our servants should not only refrain from the ill which we forbid, but discharge the duties which we enjoin. Thy herdsman would certainly be more guilty if he stole thy cattle, but surely he is not free from blame if he guards it with negligence. Is it just that we should be towards God what we will not allow our domestics to be towards us?" Such discourses, when delivered in an earnest, impressive manner; when the words of the preacher were aided by the purity of his life — and without purity of life the words of no preacher will have effect — could not fail to do good. St. Cesarius does not dwell on abstruse points of doctrine, but on the most obvious moral duties: he leaves the mysteries of faith, predestination, grace, &c. as things which may be silently adored, while he applies his undivided attention to what will improve the heart, to the cultivation of all the virtues which secure alike individual and general happiness; and, in inculcating these virtues, he is sometimes very impressive. Thus in his homily on the last judgment, designed to inculcate works of mercy, though he may place more dependence on such works than they are worth, he yet insists on the fulfilment of a divine injunction with considerable force, with powerful appeals to the heart: —

"In the gospel of the day, dearest brethren, we have heard that terrible voice, that sentence at once to be feared and desired, of our Lord. It is terrible in that it says, *Depart from me, ye cursed!* it is desirable in that it says, *Come, ye blessed of my Father, receive the kingdom!* Who, on hearing these words, would not at the same time tremble and rejoice? since Christ promises to his servants a kingdom, to sinners everlasting fire. Hear, I beseech you, dearest brethren, this lesson with your whole hearts! let it sink deep into your minds! For whoever

receives this lesson in a teachable spirit, if even he is incapable of understanding the rest of the Scriptures, may, by it alone, learn to do every good work, and to flee every evil one. Observe, my brethren, what our Lord promises to say to those who shall sit on his right hand, *Come, ye blessed, for I was hungry, and ye gave me meat!* &c. whilst to those at his left hand he will say, *Depart from me, ye cursed, for I was hungry, and ye gave me no meat!* &c. He did not say, Depart from me, because ye have committed theft, or murder, or other deeds of the kind, but because from your substance ye have not given to the poor. As they on the right hand will be redeemed by almsgiving, so they on the left will be condemned for their avarice. He will not say to these, Come, ye blessed, because ye have *not sinned*; nor to these, Depart, ye cursed, because ye *have sinned*, but because ye *have refused to redeem your sins by almsgiving*. No man without sin ever did or can exist; but every man, with God's aid, can redeem his sins. God has said, Whoever feedest not the hungry, and clothest not the naked, shall be sent into everlasting fire. If he is to be damned who *giveth not* to the poor, what shall be the fate of him who *hath taken* what is another's? If he is in hell who would not receive the stranger into his house, where is he who *hath expelled* the owner from his house? If fire be the lot of him who has not clothed the naked, what is reserved for him who makes naked the clothed? Wherefore, my brethren, adhere to almsgiving, to works of mercy, which will not suffer the doer to labour in darkness." — "O soul, which dwellest within fleshly, perishable walls, *watch, ask, knock, seek*. While praying, watch; while seeking, ask; while asking, knock." — "The Scripture saith, *Naked came I from my mother's womb, and naked shall I be laid in the ground*; wherefore give, while thou hast the means in thine hands. Give unto thyself from thine own substance; for fleeting is what thou possessest." — "God offers you a kingdom in exchange for your works of mercy. And when thou hast offered thy share of the covenant, thy Father, Lord, and Friend, shall say to thee, 'What I have received I now return a hundredfold, yea, a thousand times a hundred, and in the world to come eternal life, — a kingdom at the right hand of my Father.' Wherefore let each, according to his ability, and with a cheerful heart, give to the stranger. Hear what the Lord saith in the Gospel concerning the widow who offered the two mites, — *She hath given more than they all*; for they were rich, and gave of their abundance, while she offered all her substance: whence she merited that God should praise her with his own lips." — "Why should the giver rejoice in his gift? Because he parts with little and receives

much ; he gives a mite, he purchases a kingdom ! he surrenders a little money, and in return shall receive eternal life ! he exchanges temporal things for things eternal."—"Now, if any one should say unto thee, ' Give me one piece of brass money, and I will return thee a hundred pieces of gold,' wouldest thou not with alacrity embrace the offer ? "

The preceding extracts will convey a sufficient idea of this prelate's style. We forbear to notice such of his reputed works as are of doubtful paternity ; nor will our limits permit us to detail such as are lost.*

539 The fame of *St. Gregory* of Tours (539—595) to has been equalled by that only of his predecessor St. 585. Martin in the same see. From his infancy he seems to have been intended by Providence for the ecclesiastical state : few men have had more saintly alliances. This family, which was one of the noblest of Gaul, could boast of the martyr Vettius Epagatus, of *St. Gregory* of Langres, *St. Nicetas* of Lyons, *St. Gall* of Clermont, and of many other prelates without the same honours of canonisation. His name, which was originally *Georgius Florantius*, he changed into *Gregory*, through respect for the prelate of Langres. As he lost his father in his infancy, the care of his education devolved on his mother, who proved that she was not unworthy of the charge. Her maternal anxiety was continually exercised by the exceeding delicacy of his constitution ; nor was that anxiety diminished when, after she had placed him under the care of three saints, — of his uncle *St. Gall*, his great uncle *St. Nicetas*, and *St. Avitus* of Vienne, — of whom all exhibited great interest in his education, — he showed what might one day be expected from him. In the manner of the age, prayers and offerings were made at the tombs of saints for his recovery. His first biographer, — the first, we mean, who collected the scattered memoirs of his life, — *St. Odo* of Clugny, dwells with much

* The Monks of *St. Maur*, *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iii. p. 197—228. *S. Cæsarii Arelatensis Episcopi Homiliae*, Hom. xx. xxxix, &c. (in *Bibliot. Veterum Patrum*, tom. v. pars. 3. p. 765. 782, &c.)

complacency on the miracles effected in his favour through the invocation of St. Hillis. On this occasion he bound himself, in the event of his recovery, to the ecclesiastical state ; but though he partially gained strength, and was tonsured, the benefits procured him by St. Hillis appear to have been transient ; for we find the young deacon soon afterwards conveyed to the tomb of St. Martin of Tours, the greatest of the Gallic saints.* Of course the intercession was potent, and he returned healed. The journey advanced his temporal no less than his spiritual interests ; for it was to the favourable impression which his good qualities made on the people of Tours that he was afterwards indebted for his elevation to that see. We need not therefore be surprised that a man of ardent, grateful feelings, and of boundless credulity, should regard with strong attachment the memory of his patron. Hence the numerous miracles which he records in honour of St. Martin. In 573, while at the court of Sigebert, king of Austrasia, he was not a little surprised by the intelligence, that though only in his thirty-fourth year, and so little known to the people of Tours, he had just been elected as the successor of the deceased Euphronius in that see. The choice was immediately confirmed by Sigebert : he was consecrated by the bishop of Rheims, and conducted to his cathedral, where he chiefly remained unto his death.

" It is in the monuments of the age," says M. Guizot, the accomplished translator of the *Historia Ecclesiastica Francorum*, " and above all, in Gregory of Tours himself, that we must learn what at that time was the existence of a bishop, what pomp, what power, but also what labours and dangers were attached to the dignity. While avaricious violence perpetually wandered over the country, reducing the poor to slavery, the rich to poverty ; to-day destroying the greatness which it created yesterday ; delivering every thing to the

* This saint, famous as he is, does not fall within our scope : he died a century before it.

chances of a struggle, always imminent and unexpected,—during these scenes it was, that in some famous cities, near the tomb of the saints, in the sanctuary of churches, the unhappy of every condition, whatever their origin, took refuge,—the Roman despoiled of his lands; the Frank pursued by the wrath of a king, or the vengeance of an enemy; companies of labourers pursued by bands of robbers; often whole populations, who had no longer laws or magistrates to invoke, who could nowhere meet with safety or protection. For the defence of this only asylum of the faithful the bishops had nothing beyond the authority of their characters, expostulations, or censures: to repress ferocious rioters, to inspire the vanquished with energy, they had no weapon but faith. Daily experience proved the inadequacy of their means; their riches excited envy; their resistance, wrath: frequent assaults, gross outrages, followed them even into the sanctuary while celebrating the offices of religion; blood, often that of their clergy, even their own, flowed in the churches. Finally, they exercised the only moral magistracy that survived amidst the wrecks of civilisation,—an office the most perilous beyond all doubt that ever existed."

To the everlasting praise of Gregory it must be recorded, that in these trying circumstances he exhibited uncommon courage, combined with great prudence; that whether defending St. Pretextatus against the Nero of France, (Chilperic, the husband of Fredegund,) Christian orthodoxy against the heretical notions of the same prince, the rights of sanctuary against king or noble, or his poor flock against the violence of the great, he well remembered his dignity and his duty. It must, indeed, be confessed that he was unduly attached to the immunities of the clergy; that he was beyond measure superstitious and bigotted; that he believed a violation of these immunities, the slightest disrespect offered to a saint, or the relic of a saint, equally sinful with the greatest of moral crimes. In this, however, he merely partook of the spirit of his age; nor in any of these respects is he a jot worse than his contemporaries; while over them he has the undoubted advantage of Christian courage, of pure morals, of ardent zeal, of disinterestedness. He died in 595, when his

biographers are compelled to acknowledge that the intercession of St. Martin could no longer avail him.*

The works of St. Gregory of Tours were more copious than those of most saints of Gaul: seven have descended to us, four are lost. All those which are extant display, in a degree remarkable even in that age, the amazing credulity of his character. His treatise, *De Gloria Martyrum*, in above 100 chapters; *De Gloria Confessorum*, in full as many; *De Miraculis S. Juliani*, in fifty; *De Miraculis S. Martini*, in four books; *De Miraculis S. Andreæ*, in one book; and *De Vitis Patrum*, are filled, far beyond even his *Historia Ecclesiastica Francorum*, with the most astounding miracles. Of the sincerity with which he relates them, not a doubt can be entertained: he believed most of them as firmly as holy writ; but though this circumstance does so much credit to that first of virtues, how lamentably does it not affect his judgment! But a few extracts will better exhibit his manner than any description of ours. As our limits will not permit us to be diffuse, we shall restrict our attention to the greatest, and, with all its faults, most valuable of his works, the *Historia Ecclesiastica Francorum*, which, in ten books, relates, without much order as to time, without any method as to subject, the chief civil and religious events of the country from the propagation of Christianity down to the year 591. The first book, however, an absurd summary of ancient universal history,—and such a summary was quite in the manner of the age, for no book was thought complete which did not begin with the creation,—would be of no interest whatever, did it not contain some details relating to the establishment and progress of Christianity in Gaul, down to the death of St. Martin

* S. Odo Cluniicensis, *Vita S. Gregorii Turonensis*, No. 1—24. Surius, *De Probatis Vitis Sanctorum*, Die Novemb. xvii. The Monks of St. Maur, *Histoire Littéraire*, tom. iii. p. 372, &c. Fortunatus, *Carmina*, lib. x. cap. 2. S. Gregorius Turon. *Historia Ecclesiastica Francorum*, passim. Fleury, *Histoire Ecclésiastique* (sub annis). Guizot, *Notice sur Grégoire de Tours* (in *Collection des Mémoires relatifs à l'Histoire de France*, tom. i.).

of Tours in 397. The following extract from it will give the reader the feelings and opinions of the times, no less than of our historian's manner : —

" In the same time (the time of St. Martin) Injuriosus, a senator of Auvergne, and very rich, sought in marriage a young maiden of the same condition in life ; and having given her the usual pledges, a day was fixed for the nuptials (each was an only child) : the day arrived, the ceremony was performed, and afterwards both, according to custom, entered into the same bed. But the young maiden, in deep affliction, turned towards the wall, and wept bitterly ; when her husband said to her, ' Tell me, I beseech thee, what meaneth this ? ' As she was silent, he continued, ' Tell me, I conjure thee, in the name of Christ, what thus afflicteth thee ? ' Turning towards him, she replied, ' Were I to weep my whole life, my tears would not suffice to mitigate my boundless sorrow. I had resolved to dedicate to Jesus Christ a body undefiled by man ; but, alas ! he has so abandoned me, that I cannot fulfil the resolution, and this day, which I have lived too long to see, I weep at losing what I have hitherto so carefully preserved. Yes, forsaken by Christ the Immortal, who promised paradise for my dowry, I am united instead to a mortal husband ; instead of being adorned with a crown of roses incorruptible, I must receive in this marriage a worthless ornament — a crown of roses which are withered away. But why more words ? Why was not the first day of my life also the last ? Would to heaven that the kisses of my nurses had been given to me in my shroud ! The pomps of the world disgust me when I think of my Redeemer pierced on the cross : I cannot bear the sight of diadems glittering with precious stones when I think of his thorny crown !'* Hearing these words, uttered with torrents of tears, the compassionate youth said, ' We are only children ; of the noblest lineage in Auvergne ; to continue it, and to prevent a stranger from succeeding to them, our parents have united us.' She replied, ' The world is nothing, riches are nothing, pomp is nothing, the life which we enjoy is nothing. Better far to seek the life which never ends, which no accident, no misfortune can affect ; in which man, absorbed by eternal beatitude, bathes in a glory that never sets ; and in which — what is far more precious — he enjoys the presence of the Lord ! ' The youth replied, ' At thy sweet words, eternal life shines in my eyes bright like the dazzling sun. If thou wishest to refrain from fleshly lusts, I will join thee.' The maid observed, ' Men do not easily grant such things to

* We somewhat abridge the fair bride's sermon.

women. But if thou really wilt permit us to remain in this world without spot or blemish, I will give thee a portion of the dowry which has been promised me by my husband and lord Jesus Christ, to whom I am connected as servant and bride.' Having made the sign of the cross, he assured her that he would do what she desired. With their hands locked in each other, both fell asleep. During many years they slept together, in the same bed, and, as their death proved, with admirable chastity. Their trial being past, and the maiden having ascended unto Christ, her husband said, as he laid her in the tomb, 'I thank thee, Lord God everlasting, that I can return unto thee a treasure unsullied as I received it from thee!' At these words she smiled in her coffin, saying, 'Why this assurance which no one asks of thee?' He soon followed her. As their coffins were separated from each other by a crypt, a new miracle proved their chastity. The day following his funeral, when the people approached the place, they found the tombs united, as if the grave were not to separate those whom heaven had re-united. 'Unto this day the inhabitants of the place call them, *The Two Lovers.*'

We know not whether admiration at devotional feelings so tender, or pity at so lamentable a misconception of the marriage duties and privileges, will preponderate in the reader's mind: the same deplorable misconception has characterised the Roman catholic church in all ages. If celibacy be sometimes good in the clergy, whose duties it affords ampler means of fulfilment; if it be sometimes tolerable, and even laudable, in persons of either sex who desire to devote their lives more strictly to heaven; assuredly that is a doctrine hostile at once to Christianity and to reason, which would disregard the obligations contracted at the altar, which would contravene the express command of God, "Go forth and multiply," and which would rear no issue for heaven. Nor does this expedient always avail. If bolts and bars keep the body continent, do they also coerce the imagination? Whatever may be thought by some ascetic teachers, the rest of the world well knows, that where there is marriage there is most chastity of sentiment, most purity of heart.*

* The Monks of St. Maur, *Histoire Littéraire*, iii. 376, &c. St. Gregorius Turon. *Historia Ecclesiastica Francorum*, lib. i.

More than any other writer of the period under consideration is St. Gregory valuable for his description of manners : he is no poet, but he is certainly a true painter. He every where draws a horrible picture of the vices which prevailed.

" King Clothaire had seven sons by his different women : by Ingunda he had Clothaire, Childeric, Charibert, Gontrem, Sigebert, and a daughter ; by Aregunda, *sister of Ingunda*, he had Chilperic, and by Chunsena he had Chramnis. I will relate the reason why he took the sister of his wife. When he was already married to Ingunda, whom he loved with an undivided heart, she besought a favour from him in these words : ' My lord has made of his servant what has pleased him, and has called me to his bed : now, to complete his kindness, let my lord the king listen to his servant. I beseech you to procure a powerful and rich husband for my sister, your servant, so that the connection may not mortify me ; but that, on the contrary, elated by a new mark of regard, I may serve you more faithfully.' At these words the king, who was too much addicted to concupiscence, burned with love for Aregunda : he went to the country house which she inhabited, and married her. Having done so, he returned to Ingunda, and said, ' I have reflected on the favour thou hast solicited from me ; and in considering what rich and powerful man I could provide for thy sister, I have been able to find none more suitable than myself. Know then that I have married her ; a thing, I hope, which will not displease thee.' She replied, ' Let my lord the king do whatever seemeth good in his eyes, only let me, thy servant, always live in thy favour ! ' "

The king was certainly not so bad as the ecclesiastic who married him to his wife's sister, that wife still living.

That the nobles were not slow to follow the royal example, may be proved by one instance, that of duke Arnat, whose fate no one will pity : —

" The duke having sent his wife into one of his domains to superintend his affairs, took a fancy to a young damsel of free birth. One night, being filled with wine, he sent his servants to bring her away to his bed. Though she resisted, they dragged her to his palace, striking her with their hands, and so causing the blood to flow from her nostrils, wherefore the 's bed was bloody ; for having overcome her with blows, and other ill usage, he took her in his arms, and soon

fell fast asleep. Stretching out her hand above his head, she found a sword, which having drawn from its scabbard, she struck him boldly in the head, just like Judith in regard to Holofernes. Hearing his cries, his servants hastened, and prepared to kill the young woman, but he cried out, ‘ Let her alone, I pray you, for I sinned in wishing to deprive her of her chastity ! Let her not perish for attempting to defend what is so dear to her ! ’ Whilst the family were weeping over his bed, — for he soon yielded up the ghost, — the young woman, with the aid of God, left the room, then the house, and arrived the same night at Chalons. Here she took sanctuary in the church of St. Marcellus, and falling at the feet of the king, related what had happened. This most clement monarch not only spared her life, but commanded that a warrant of protection should be drawn up, that, being under his care, the kindred of the deceased might not molest her.”

The state of society, when such things could with impunity, as to the laws, be attempted, where domestics were ready to assist their master in the foulest crimes, as if such assistance were but an ordinary part of their duty, speaks volumes. The following anecdote will prove that ecclesiastics, even prelates, knew how to be ferocious, in a degree at least equal to the worst of the Merovingian kings and nobles : —

“ At this time there was a priest named Anastasius, of free extraction, to whom queen Clotilda, of glorious memory, had given some property by a written charter. The bishop had often sent for him, earnestly pressing him to surrender the charter with the property ; and when the priest refused to do so, the bishop became the more urgent, using now caresses, now threats. At length he was forced to the city, where he was detained, the bishop ordering that if he did not surrender the instrument he should be ill treated, and suffered to die of hunger : still resisting, with great resolution he refused, saying that it was much better for him to die than to leave his children in misery. He was then consigned to the custody of some guards, who had orders certainly to let him die if he persisted in his refusal. In the church of the martyr St. Cassius there was an ancient deep vault, and in the vault a marble tomb, which appeared to have formerly held the corpse of a man. In this tomb the priest was shut up alive ; the mouth was closed with a huge stone, and guards were posted before the door of the vault. Trusting to the stone which covered the tomb, the men, as it was winter, made a fire ; and soon afterwards, over-

come by the fumes of hot wine, they fell asleep. The priest, like another Jonas, implored from the depths of his tomb, just as if he were in the depths of hell, the mercy of our Lord. The sarcophagus, as we have before said, was large, so that if he could not turn himself in it, he could at least stretch out his hands at will. The bones of the dead, which were usually brought thither, exhaled, as he has frequently related, a most horrid stench, which not only affected his five senses, but penetrated into his stomach. With his mantle he stopped his nose, and so long as he could remain without breathing, he did not perceive the bad odour; but no sooner, in his wish to breathe, did he withdraw the garment a little, than the stink entered at nose, mouth, and even ears. What more shall I say? At length God, I believe, had pity on him; stretching out his hand towards the side of the tomb, he found a lever with which the stone was usually moved. After a few efforts, he perceived, that, with God's blessing, the covering gave way. When the opening was wide enough to admit his head, he soon made it large enough to let his body pass through it. The shades of night were beginning to fall, but the twilight, yet visible, attracted him to the other gate of the vault. It was strongly fastened by bolts and locks; but as it was not so well jointed that he could not look through the panels, he applied his face to it, and saw a man passing. He called out, though in an under tone of voice: the man heard him, and with a hatchet broke the wooden bars which held the screws, and thus released him. The priest desired the man not to mention what had passed, and as night was now come, returned to his house. There taking the charter which, as I have before said, he had received from the queen, he went to Clothaire, and related how the bishop had endeavoured to bury him alive. Every body was surprised, saying that neither Nero nor Herod had ever done so wicked a thing as to bury a man alive. Cantin, the bishop, waited on king Clothaire; but being convicted by the priest, he returned humbled and mortified."

The bishop received no other punishment—no other, in fact, was ever contemplated—than a passing reproach from the king. That the ladies of this age were not much better than kings, nobles, and ecclesiastics, will appear from one or two extracts:—

"In this place" (the fort of Cubieres, then besieged by king Theodebert,) "was a matron whose husband had come to reside near Beziers. To the king she sent messages to say, 'Nobody, most clement sovereign, can resist thee; we acknowledge thee for our lord; come, and be it with us as

thou pleaseth.' So Theodebert went to the fort, where he was peaceably received: seeing that the people quietly submitted to him, he did them no harm. The matron met him: seeing that she was handsome, he became enamoured of her, and took her to his bed." — " Perceiving that her daughter was grown up, and fearing lest the latter should raise the desire of the king, and supplant her, she fastened the girl in a chariot drawn by wild oxen, which ran with her down a precipice, and plunged her into a river, where she perished."

Horrible as is the preceding anecdote, which represents a mother as the deliberate murderer of her child, it is much surpassed by another: —

" In these days Austrechilda, wife of king Gontram, was at the point of death. Before she gave up the ghost, seeing that her death could not be averted, she sighed; but she resolved not to leave the world without company; that at her funeral there should be weeping for other funerals: she is said, like Herodias, to have made this request to the king: ' I might live much longer if I were not dying by the hands of my wicked physicians; for the medicines they have given me are bringing me to an untimely grave. However, that my death may not remain unavenged, I beseech you to swear that when I am no more you will put both to death. Then at least, if my days are numbered, let them not survive to boast of their deed, but let their friends experience the same grief as ours for me.' After these words she breathed out her wretched life. When, according to custom, her funeral rites were past, the king, remembering the oath required by his cruel wife, fulfilled it, by ordering that the two physicians who had attended her should be destroyed by the sword."*

Nor were the darker passions of our nature confined to women of the world: they penetrated even into the holy retirement of the cloister. At Poitiers there was a nun, Chrodielda by name, who, representing herself — probably with truth — as a daughter of the deceased king Charibert, and thinking that a private station was below her dignity, aspired to the government of the community. She soon formed a party of about forty nuns, whom she persuaded to espouse her cause. Her object was to accuse the abbess of certain

* S. Gregorius Turinensis, *Historia Ecclesiastica Francorum*, lib. ii.—ix.
in multis capitulis.)

crimes, to procure her deposition, and her own election. With this view, accompanied by her party, she one day left the nunnery, and repaired to Tours, where she begged the bishop, St. Gregory, — the author whom we are now noticing, — to take charge of the nuns, her companions, while she hastened to court, to prove her accusations against the abbess. The prelate endeavoured to dissuade her from her purpose. He represented to her the propriety of her immediate return to the convent, promising that the conduct of the superior should be immediately investigated by himself and another bishop ; but he reasoned in vain. After a brief stay, Chroielda left her companions in Tours, and hastened to the court of Gontram. The fact that this king not only received her with distinction, but loaded her with presents, and ordered several bishops to assemble, for the purpose of enquiring into the affair, is strong evidence that she was of royal descent. During her absence, the nuns she had left in Poitiers did not exhibit the most edifying conduct : some of them openly married, the rest had lovers. At length, however, most of them returned with Chroielda to Poitiers — not to their convent, but to the church of St. Hilary. Here, says Gregory, they assembled round them a band of wretches, — murderers, adulterers, robbers, and criminals of all kinds, with the avowed purpose of expelling the abbess. At length the bishops, who had been commissioned to investigate the matter, arrived at the church of St. Hilary, with the view of prevailing on the nuns to revisit their cloisters ; but the ladies stood firm. The rest of the extraordinary scene shall be told in Gregory's own words : —

" As they obstinately refused to hear reason, the bishop of Bourdeaux, with the other prelates, having pronounced excommunication against them, the brutal band of which we have spoken arose, and so belaboured the clergy with blows, even in St. Hilary's sanctuary, that the bishops had great difficulty in rising from the pavement, while the deacons and priests escaped from the church all bloody, many with broken heads. I believe the devil had a hand in the mischief ; all were so

frightened that, without taking leave of one another, they blindly hastened from the sacred place, and followed the first road they found. Didier, deacon to the bishop of Autun, threw himself into the river, without thinking of the ford; but his horse swam to the other side. After these things, Chrodielde, taking with her some of her resolute followers, entered the offices of the monastery, seizing every thing which lay within her reach: by blows she made the servants obey her in every thing, and threatened that if she could enter the place she would have the abbess thrown from the walls."

The sight of these most reverend divines, thus belaboured by a band of nuns, assisted by their lovers, and in the height of their fear not knowing whither to betake themselves, with their bloody noses and heads, is the most characteristic feature of these extraordinary times: one would think it must have been somewhat more ludicrous than edifying. It seems, however, that the peace of society could be at any time disturbed, and with impunity disturbed, by a woman. The affair was solemnly reported to the king, who ordered the count of the place to repress the disorder; but neither count nor bishop could prevail against Chrodielde, who appears to have been possessed of talents equal to her daring. After many pathetic representations, drawn up by the abbess, and many formal written instruments by "most potent, grave, and reverend signiors;" after many petitions from all the parties, and many royal messages,—all which ended in nothing,—St. Gregory continues:—

"The scandals which the devil had excited in the convent of Poitiers went on increasing. Chrodielde having, as we have before related, begirt herself with a band of assassins, magicians, adulterers, and sinners of all kinds, was ever ready to create disturbance. One night she ordered them to force a way into the convent, and drag out the abbess. When the latter heard the approaching tumult, gouty as she was, she caused herself to be carried before a relic of the true cross, to invoke the assistance of heaven. The men having forced their way into the house, lighted a waxen taper, and running with arms in their hands from place to place in search of her, they found her in her oratory, prostrated before the holy relic. As one of them, more wicked and daring than the rest, approached the abbess to cut her in two, another, moved I believe

by Divine Providence, struck him with a knife, so that he fell weltering in his blood. In the mean time the prioress of the house, Justina, aided by some sisters, extinguished the light, and hid the abbess under the covering of the altar before the relic of the cross ; but other armed men arriving, cut the garments of the nuns, and nearly the nuns themselves, with their swords. Amidst the gloom, mistaking the prioress for the abbess, they tore away her veil, and dragged her by the hair of her head towards the church of St. Hilary, to give her into the care of guards. On approaching the church, however, they discovered by starlight that it was not the abbess : having released the prioress, they immediately returned, seized the abbess, dragged her to the church, and shut her up in the place where Basin* was lodged, placing guards before the door, that there might be no communication with the prisoner. They now returned to the monastery : but as the night was dark, and they could find no taper, they brought a barrel of dry pitch from the cellar, set fire to it, and directed by the blaze they removed whatever they could from the convent."

In vain did the bishop of Poitiers, metropolitan as he was, endeavour "to appease this diabolical sedition." His spiritual thunders being derided, he threatened to raise the city, and deliver the abbess by force. "If he attempts such a thing," said Chroielda, "strike her at once with your swords." That such would have been the superior's fate is undoubted, had not one of the domestics attached to the cathedral helped her to escape. This only added to the existing fermentation. Murder, rape, and plunder were of daily occurrence. At length the count, in obedience to the peremptory orders of Childebert, marched with his troops to quell the riot. He succeeded, but not until many had fallen on both sides. Chroielda, scorning to submit, seized a cross, boldly advanced to meet the assailants, and threatened them with vengeance if they presumed to touch the daughter and cousin of kings ; but her denunciations had little effect. Most of her surviving accomplices were severely punished ; but no harm was done to her. An ecclesiastical tribunal now took cognizance of the affair. The charges which she there made against the abbess, however slightly St. Gregory would fain treat

* A royal nun, one of the conspirators.

them, must excite a doubt whether the superior was much better than even the extraordinary accuser. One was, that the abbess kept a man in the disguise of a female domestic ; and she pointed out the individual, who, in reality, was found to be a man. St. Gregory, however, would have us to believe the domestic, who asserted that he was not so much as known to the abbess. The next charge was, that the abbess had turned a youth into a eunuch. But here a physician took the blame or merit of the act on himself. He had done, he said, what he had seen at Constantinople, — to save the youth he had destroyed his virility. Other charges followed, some of which the abbess was compelled partially to admit ; but she had a favourable court, which suffered her to escape with a slight reprimand. On the other side crimes enough were proved, without the aid of exaggeration. Some of the nuns were discovered to be pregnant. All had been concerned in the excesses we have described ; but, in the end, their only sentence was the greater excommunication, — that is, banishment from the sacraments, and from the nunnery, — which they would scarcely regard as a punishment. The preceding extracts — and of such the whole of St. Gregory's work is composed — will enable the reader to estimate alike his character as a writer, and the manners of the age. They are in themselves striking, and they fully confirm the description we have given of French society. We reluctantly leave this graphic, simple-minded writer, assured that we shall not meet with another whose work will furnish so valuable materials for reflection.*

The seventh century, and, indeed, most of the eighth, exhibits the same progress of literary decay that we have had occasion to lament in the sixth. What stimulus, in fact, could be given to letters during the reign of the Merovingians, — a period of perpetual violence, when religion and law were alike disregarded ; when

* *Sanctus Gregorius Turinensis, Historia Ecclesiastica Francorum, lib. (ix. x. in pluribus capitulis.)*

savage barbarism, having triumphed over civilisation, was struggling with the new-born principles of Christianity? Some, however, of the old schools continued to exist, we cannot say to flourish, and some new ones were founded on the Germanic frontiers, to instruct not only new converts, but such as were intended for the ecclesiastical state, especially the missionaries. Nor was the period without its writers. Omitting Fortunatus of Poitiers, at whom we have glanced in the preceding volume*, and St. Columbanus, on whom we have dwelt at some length †, we have many other names, all carefully adduced by the indefatigable monks of St. Maur, to prove that their country, even at the darkest period, was not unvisited by the rays of intellect. If, however, the truth must be confessed, none of them so much as deserve a passing notice, until we come to the reign of Charlemagne. Through the extraordinary encouragement which that monarch afforded to letters a new era commenced; but the beneficial effects of his policy were not very visible during the eighth century: it was not until the ninth that the intellectual reformation exhibited all its splendour. During the eighth century, however, and before the influence of Charlemagne was felt, there is one writer who must not be confounded with the barbarous scribblers of his age,—*St. Ambrose Autpert*. Of this ecclesiastic's life little is known, not even the place or time of his birth. All that we certainly gather is, that he went into Italy; that he was elected abbot of St. Vincent's, near Benevento; that there was a division in his monastery; that he went to Rome to invoke the authority of the pope; and there died in 778. Of his works, the most considerable is a commentary on the Apocalypse, to which succeeding ecclesiastics are said — probably with great truth — to have been considerably indebted. It certainly exhibits some ingenuity, in a style by no means despicable for the period. From such a work, however, we can make no extracts;

* Vol. I. p. 230.

† See page 178, &c. of the present volume.

but the mere indication of such guides to the theological student cannot fail to be useful, since it may enable him to ascertain what were the ancient opinions respecting a book the most mysterious in the vast field of sacred literature.*

It was, indeed, in the reign of Charlemagne, that a barrier was placed to the ever-increasing torrent of barbarism. During the seventy years which preceded his assumption of government, St. Ambrose Autpert was the only writer whom we regard as deserving of even passing notice ; yet even he would have attracted no great observation had he appeared much earlier, or a little later. Alone, his figure has not magnitude enough to strike the attention ; but, compared with a few insignificant dwarfs appearing in the cloudy distance, he becomes a giant. When Charlemagne ascended the throne, both religion and letters were in the very abyss of degradation. We have seen how St. Boniface complained of their state in Germany † ; it was little better in France : violence and avarice, ignorance and vice, every where abounded. The schools attached to the cathedrals no longer commanded respect ; even the monasteries had ceased to be the abodes of piety and of learning. Nor need this surprise us, when, to the continued disturbances of the times, we add the fact that the superiors themselves were strangers to both. If Charles Martel saved Christendom from the Mohammedan yoke, he yet deeply injured society ; and though we should be sorry to believe, with a contemporary French prelate, that he is consigned to the goodly fellowship of Dathan and Abiram, we cannot wonder at the contumely with which his memory is laden by the church. He was not, indeed, the first to confer mon-

* The Monks of St. Maur, *Histoire Litteraire de la France*, tom. iii. p. 417, &c. and tom. iv. p. 143, &c. Guizot, *Histoire de la Civilisation en France*, tom. ii. leçons 16. 18. Yépes, *Cronica General de la Orden de San Benito*, tom. iv. fol. 189. Fleury, *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, tom. ix. p. 422. The work of St. Ambrose Autpert occupies 236 closely printed pages, double columns, in the ninth vol. of the *Magna Bibliotheca Patrum*, part second. Tiraboschi, *Storia della Litteratura Italiana*, tom. iii. p. 194.

† See page 197. of the present volume.

asteries on laymen, but he made the evil frequent ; and the laymen he thus procured were uniformly illiterate : he even gave them to women, and to women, too, of dubious reputation. In the Spicilegium of Dachery we have a touching account, from a contemporary monk, of the change which had taken place in the celebrated abbey of Fontenelle. The substance which, in former centuries, was expended in hospitality, and in the support of literary men, was now applied to the maintenance of dogs and horses, and to the equipment of warriors : the song of praise was superseded by the barking of quadrupeds, or the clang of armour. The only literature of which Germanic Europe could boast was furnished by St. Wilfrid, St. Boniface, and their successors : it was they, too, who still kept alive the expiring embers of religion. But a change was near.

" Such," say the monks of St. Maur, " was the state of literature in our provinces when Charlemagne seized the reins of the French monarchy. Ere long the world witnessed the fulfilment of this truth, — that if the sciences, when arrived at a certain degree of perfection, gradually yield to ignorance ; so barbarism, when at its height, yields to literature and the arts. The beginning of Charles's reign resembled the rising sun which, at first merely penetrating the mists of ignorance, scarcely reached its meridian before it had dispersed them, and beamed with unclouded light on the sciences." — " The first measure which he adopted, and which naturally preceded all others, was to establish a good internal government throughout the provinces subject to him." — " The field being thus prepared for the cultivation of letters, the monarch began to look round for efficient labourers. Finding none in France, he hired them from foreign countries. One of the first appears to have been Petrus Pisanus*, who having taught with reputation in the school of Pavia, after the reduction of that city, followed him into France. Paulus Warnefredus, deacon of the church of Aquileya, afterwards monk at Monte-Casino, and one of the most learned men of his age, who appears at this period to have shared the fortunes of Charlemagne, was also one of the early labourers in the same field. This is proved by the various works which he composed. Such is the vocabulary, part of which is yet to be found in MS. in some libraries.

* See Vol. I. p. 231.

Such is the collection of homilies by the fathers, which he arranged at the desire of Charlemagne,— a work addressed by this prince to all the readers of churches, and designed as well for the daily offices, as to inspire the ecclesiastics with some taste for antiquity. Such, too, is the History of the Bishops of Metz, which he wrote at the request of Enguerran, one of their number.”—“Among the assistants of Charlemagne is generally reckoned one Clement, an Irishman, but of whom little certain is known. What is more undoubted is that this prince, in his third journey to Rome in 787, brought into France skilful singers, with professors of grammar and arithmetic. If at this time Theodulf bishop of Orleans, and Leidred of Lyons, both literati of a high order, and both so useful to Charlemagne in the restoration of learning, were not already in France, they soon afterwards came. To the same end Paulinus of Aquileya contributed by the excellent advice which he gave the prince. But of all those who thus laboured for the intellectual improvement of the country, none were more successful and glorious than the famous Alcuin, whose memory, so long as literary men exist, must be dear to the French nation. He was skilful in Greek as well as Latin, and conversant with all the sciences, which he had learned under Egbert archbishop of York. Having taught with reputation in his own country, he undertook a journey to Italy, whence Charlemagne in 780 drew him into France.”*

Of *Alcuin*, whom the Monks of St. Maur rightly call “Le docteur de la nation Française, et le principal restaurateur des lettres en France après Charlemagne,” England may well be proud. He is so closely connected with the religious and intellectual annals of France, he exercised so great an influence over the society of that country, that he must be noticed here. Born in 735, in the province of York,— a somewhat loose expression, though his birthplace was probably south of the Tees,— and educated in the school of York, he doubtless surprised his tutors by the rapidity of his attainments. Though we may doubt that archbishop Egbert predicted his future greatness, we may believe that he was soon regarded as one likely to prove a pillar of the church, and a lamp of learning. To an English-

* The Monks of St. Maur, *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. iv. (*Etat des Lettres dans les Gaules.*) Dacherius, *Spicilegium*, tom. iii. p. 210. Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti*, tom. iii. n. 3, &c. Guizot, *Histoire de la Civilisation*, tom. ii.

man, the high reputation of that famous Benedictine school must be an interesting spectacle ; and no less so that the nation itself, as is honourably admitted by two great men, the Spanish Masdeu and the French Guizot, could at that period boast of more intellectual knowledge than any other in Europe.

"The intellectual state of Ireland and England," says the latter writer, "was then superior to that of the Continent : in those countries literature and schools prospered more than in any other place."—"Whatever the cause the fact is incontestable, the English schools, especially that of York, were superior to those of the Continent. The latter had even a rich library, containing many of the great works of heathen antiquity. Among others those of Aristotle, for the knowledge of whom, however frequent the assertion, modern Europe is certainly not indebted to the Arabs ; for during five centuries, from the fifth to the tenth, we perpetually find them mentioned as existing in some library, or as studied by some scholar.* Alcuin himself acquaints us with the subjects of study in the monastic school of York,—grammar, rhetoric, jurisprudence, poetry, astronomy, natural history, mathematics, chronology, and the explication of the Scriptures : these, beyond all question, embraced a wider sphere of instruction than was to be found at this period in any school of Gaul or Spain."

In this flourishing establishment Alcuin was at length raised from the class of pupils to the dignity of tutor. That he taught many years with great success, that he had the charge of the library, that he was admitted into holy orders to serve the cathedral of York, are well known. In 780 he was sent by his metropolitan to Rome, to obtain the pallium ; and in this journey it was that he fell in with Charlemagne, then at Parma. The monarch, who was already acquainted with his merit, perceiving how useful an instrument he might prove in the meditated restoration of France, pressed him to settle in that country. He hesitated, for worldly ambition does not appear at any time to have held much influence over him ; but seeing how wide a field was opened to his

* It is to be hoped that so rash an assertion will never again be made : it betrays amazing ignorance of the whole stream of European literature during the middle ages.

labours, he at length expressed his own willingness to comply, provided he obtained the consent of his metropolitan and his king. Accordingly, in 782, we find him at the court of the monarch, who, to provide a suitable theatre for the commencement of his labours, conferred on him three monasteries. "From this period," says M. Guizot, "he was the confidant, the adviser, the doctor, and, if we may thus speak, the intellectual premier of Charlemagne." His future career was one of unrivalled activity and usefulness ; but it is too extensive even to be glanced at in the present place. We may observe in general, that he was chiefly occupied in correcting and restoring ancient MSS., in founding schools, in giving a new impulse to letters, and in teaching. In each of these departments his labours would require ample space for delineation. The sacred text he restored to something like purity ; MSS. of valuable authors he caused to be amazingly multiplied ; he gave splendour to the great schools of the empire, such as Ferrieres, Fulda, Reichenau, Aniana, Fontenelle ; he taught the most illustrious youths of France ; and, as he was much at court, he was the preceptor of the imperial family, even of Charlemagne himself. His labours, however, appear in time to have wasted his constitution ; for in a few years we find his applications to the monarch, to be released from his dignities and public duties, both frequent and earnest. Though his master long opposed his wish, it was at length gratified. In 796, when he was verging on his sixtieth year, he received, as a place of retreat, the magnificent abbey of St. Martin at Tours. Yet even here he continued his activity : he restored the vigour of the Benedictine rule ; he enriched the library by numerous MSS. copied from those of York ; he conferred new glory on the school, in which he was a constant teacher ; he superintended the immense domains of the establishment ; and he maintained a correspondence by letter both with his master and with the learned of his time. That Charlemagne soon regretted the loss of his friend, appears

from the ineffectual attempts to prevail on him to return : he was resolved not to leave his retreat, yet he was loth to offend the monarch ; he had no need for excuses ; the plain statement of facts sufficiently justified his declining the pressing invitations from the court. Thus when, in 800, Charlemagne, on the eve of his journey to Rome to receive the imperial crown, earnestly wished to be accompanied by the abbot, the latter feelingly writes,—

“ I do not believe that my frail body, exhausted as it is by daily pains, could support the journey ; I should be glad were it otherwise.” — “ Why constrain me to struggle anew, to sweat under the weight of armour, when my infirmities do not permit me to rise without difficulty from the ground ? — Suffer me, I beseech you, to end my course in peace near the shrine of St. Martin : I feel that all the energy and erect bearing of my body daily disappears, and that in this world I shall have them no more. For some time past I have longed to behold once more the face of your glory ; but my growing infirmities compel me to renounce the hope.”

To escape farther solicitation, the following year Alcuin resigned his abbeys in favour of his disciples, and devoted his few remaining days to exercises of devotion. His death, in 804, deprived the emperor of an enlightened counsellor, and France of a benefactor.*

The works of Alcuin are singly of no great extent, but so numerous, that they could not be barely indicated within moderate limits. They may, however, be reduced under five heads, theology, philosophy, and literature, history, and poetry. The first class consists of comments on various passages of Scripture, of dogmatic treatises, and of explanations on the offices of the church. The second is nearly allied to the first, since

* Vita Albini Flacci, No. 1—31. (*apud Mabillonum, Acta SS. Ord. S. Ben. tom. v.*) Yepes, *Cronica General de S. Benito*, tom. iii. p. 284, &c. Monachus S. Gal. *De Gestis Coroli Magni*, *passim*. Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, et Alfordus, *Annales Ecclesiae Anglo-Saxonicas* (*sub annis*). Balaeus, *De Scriptoribus Britannicis* (*sub nomine*). The monks of St. Maur, *Histoire Litteraire de la France*, tom. iv. p. 295, &c. Canisius, *Thesaurus Monumentorum*, iii. 381. (*Basnage, in Alcuinum Observatio.*) Guiot, *Histoire de la Civilisation*, tom. ii. p. 347, &c.

There is a wretchedly inadequate account of this celebrated man in that mass of useless notes, the *Biographia Britannica*.

his definitions of the virtues, his inculcations of the duties of life, his thoughts on the nature of the soul, his elements even of grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics, are based on Christianity ; and his numerous epistles, of which about seventy are to be found in the collection of Canisius, and 115 in Duchesne, are in reality so many homilies. The third is less extensive in number, being merely the lives of a few saints. The fourth, which is numerous, embraces a variety of subjects. Besides these, there were other works composed by him, which are either lost, or remain shrouded in the dust of libraries ; but to detail them is useless. Some of his epistles, time is daily bringing to light. After closely examining most of the monuments which remain of him, we are at a loss to account for the eulogies lavished on him by writers of every age, from the ninth century to the nineteenth. That he was well versed in the Latin fathers of the church, that he was not ignorant of the Greek, that he had read Aristotle, if not Plato, are evident from his writings : we may go farther and say, that he was, beyond all doubt, superior in extent and even accuracy of information to any writer of his age. But it must never be forgotten, that a great proportion of his works consist of strange puerilities, of affected conceits, of pedantic observations ; that he has no taste, because no judgment. That there is much valuable matter to be collected from some of his treatises, especially such as concern theology, is undoubted ; but in every page modern criticism must smile at his childish simplicity, or bemoan his barbaric manner. In this spirit, though we may and ought to make allowance for the ignorance of the times, we cannot but know that better models were before him. From classical and even ecclesiastical antiquity he might surely have learned taste sufficient to avoid grosser defects. In reality his fame must rest on two considerations, — on his orthodoxy *, and the impulse which he gave to the intellect of a great nation.

* Orthodox, we mean, in the Roman catholic sense of the word.

Every Christian will respect the fearless, honest spirit with which he reproved the vices of mankind, the high view which he took of sacerdotal responsibility, the indifference which he professed for worldly advantages, the zeal which he felt for the spread of religious, moral, and intellectual truth. Hence his name had deservedly great weight throughout the western church ; in Germany no less than in Spain ; in Italy no less than in Gaul and Britain. The freedom with which he exhorts even the highest in dignity — kings and archbishops — to renewed activity in procuring the salvation of themselves and others, is a sufficient proof how sensible he was of the deference with which his admonitions would be received. Thus, in a letter to Ethelhard, archbishop of Canterbury, he says *, —

“ Think of thy renowned predecessors, the teachers and lights of all Britain. Whilst thou worshippest amidst their holy relics, thou canst not fail to be assisted by their intercessions so long as neither the pleasures of the world allure, nor the fear of kings terrifies thee from the path which they trod. Never forget that thy throat should be the trumpet of God, thy tongue the herald of salvation to all men. Be a faithful shepherd, not a hireling ; a ruler, not a subverter ; a light, not darkness ; a fortress defended by firm trust, not a house built on sand ; a glorious warrior of Christ, not a vile apostate ; a preaching, not a flattering, priest. It is better to fear God

* The original is characteristic enough of his general style : — *Cogita quales habueris antecessores, doctores et lumina totius Britanniae. Inter horum sacratissima corpora dum oraveris, illorum precibus certissime adjuvaberis si ab illorum vestigia te nec aeguli caduca blandimenta subtrahant, nec vani terrores principum formidantem efficiant. Memor esto semper, quod guttum tuum tuba Dei debet esse, et lingua tua omnibus praeco salutis. Esto pastor, non mercenarius; rector, non subversor; lux et non tenebrae; civitas firma fide munita, non domus pluvialis diruta; miles Christi gloriosus, non apostata vilis; pater praedicator, et non adulator. Melius est Dominum timere quam hominem; plus Deo placere quam homini blandiri. Quid adulator nisi blandus inimicus? ambos perdit, seipsum et suum auditorem. Virgam acceperisti pastoralem et baculum consolationis fraternalis; illam ad regendum, illum ad consolandum, ut moerentes consolationem habeant in te, et contumaces correctiones sentiant per te. Potestas judicis est occidere; tua vero vivificare. Qui times hominem propter gladium, qui clavem regni acceperisti a Christo? Recordare quia passus est pro te; et non metuas loqui pro illo. Pro tuo amore clavis confixus pendipit in cruce; et tu, sedens in sella dignitatis tua, ob timorem hominis tacueris? Non ita, frater, non ita. Sed sicut ille dilexit te, ita dilige et illum. Qui plus laboret, plus mercedis recipiet. Si persecutionem patieris propter verbum Dei, quid beatius? ipso Domino dicente, Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter justitiam, quoniam ipsorum est regnum caelorum, &c. We need not continue the extract.*

than man ; to please him rather than the other. For what is a flatterer except a smooth-tongued enemy ? — he destroys both himself and his hearer. Thou hast received the pastoral rod and the staff of brotherly affection, — with that to rule, with this to console, — to the end that the sorrowful may be comforted, the obstinate chastised by thee. The power of the judge is to kill, thine to make alive. Why fearest thou the sword of man, seeing that thou hast received from Christ the key of the kingdom ? Remember that he suffered for thee ; fear not to speak for him. Through love of thee he hung pierced with nails on the cross ; wilt thou, in thine elevated seat, be silent through fear of man ? Not so, my brother, not so ! In the same manner as he hath loved thee, love thou him ! He who most labours will receive the greatest reward. If thou suffer persecution through preaching the word, what more desirable ? since God himself has said, *Happy are they who suffer persecution for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.* Be a comforter to the wretched, a father to the poor, to all affable. Let thine hand be liberal in almsgiving ; promptly give, reluctantly receive. Remember that a priest is the messenger of the most high God, and that the holy law must issue from his mouth. Comfort the weak-hearted, invigorate the dejected, bring back the wanderers into the way of truth, instruct the ignorant, monish the knowing, and let your lives be the best teachers."

Language like this shows that Alcuin was deeply impressed with a sense of sacerdotal responsibility. We may well forgive the antithetical manner in consideration of the wholesome matter. The Saxons were a stiff-necked people, their kings violent and savage ; and there can be no doubt that his council to the archbishop was not given before it was wanted. That he himself was not slow to perform the duty he inculcated on others, appears from his letters to Charlemagne and the king of Northumbria. Nor is it less pleasing to find, that though so long settled in France, in honour such as he could never have obtained in his own country, his heart fondly turned towards his native land. *Vos semper in corde, he truly writes to the monks of York, et primi inter verba precantia in ore.— Omnes dilectissimi patres et fratres, memores mei estote ! Ego vester ero, sive in vita, sive in morte. — But we must reluc-*

tantly quit a man on whose virtues, works, and merits, we should be glad to expatiate at length.*

804. Alcuin conducts us into the ninth century, when the fruits of his labours, and of his imperial master's policy, were ripened. In the earlier part, indeed, of that century, the fruit of both is most visible, when Leidred, archbishop of Lyons, and Theodulf, bishop of Orleans, — both foreigners, — were scarcely surpassed even by Alcuin in zeal for the foundation of schools, and the encouragement of learning. Smaragdus and Egisbard, the former abbot of St. Michael, the latter confidential secretary and historian of Charlemagne, diligently trod in their steps. Yet if, in the rest of the century, the liberal studies, owing to the shameful dissensions of the emperor's successors, were not so widely diffused, the period could boast of some distinguished names. There was Claude of Turin, whose reprobation of image worship should entitle him to the gratitude of all rational Christians ; there was St. Agobard of Lyons, whose theological writings, whose letters and poetry, throw great light on the mental history of the period ; there was Walafrid Strabo, abbot of Reichenau, whose voluminous works (chiefly theological) attest his reading and industry ; there was Rabanus Maurus, archbishop of Mayence, a greater man, whose fifty-one treatises display equal ability and intolerance ; there was the monk Gottschalk, whose writings on predestination would probably edify the most rigid disciple of Calvin ; there was Paschasius Radbert, abbot of Corbey, who may be termed the father of scholastic theology ; there was Joannes Scotus, or Erigena, whose writings betray a subtlety of intellect equal at least to Radbert's ; there was St. Ado, archbishop of Vienne, who has more orthodoxy than acuteness ; there was Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims,

* Albini Flacci Alchuini Abbatis Opera, Studio Aud. Quercetani, passim. Some of Alcuin's minor works, especially his epistles, are much better edited in Canisius, Thesaurus Monumentorum, edit. Basnage, tom. ii. p. 381, &c. The monks of St. Maur, Histoire Litteraire de la France, tom. iv. p. 301, &c. Mabillon, Acta SS. Ord. S. Ben. tom. v. (*pluribus locis*) Guizot, Histoire de la Civilisation, &c. tom. ii.

the haughty, the unbending, the learned, whose works exhibit more knowledge of the canons than of the Gospel. These are but a few of the writers who flourished in the ninth century ; there were many other theologians, two or three poets, and as many chroniclers. Nor was the tenth century, though much less prolific, entirely barren of distinguished names. In theology, there was Remi, monk of St. Germain, and St. Odo, abbot of Clugny, both of whom, in an ampler work, might claim somewhat more than a passing notice. In poetry, there was Abbo, a monk of Paris, Hucbald, of St. Amand, in Flanders, and Frooard, canon of Rheims, of whom the first and last do not assuredly deserve to be forgotten. Frooard, too, is celebrated as an historian ; though his history of the church of Rheims is little more than a panegyric on Hincmar, his patron. If the number of the literary names just enumerated, and the voluminous works which some of them composed, render it impossible for us to notice them, there are three whom we shall not thus summarily dismiss — the anonymous monk of St. Gall, who wrote the life of Charlemagne, Hincmar, and Joannes Scotus. The first as an historian, the second as a theologian, the third as a philosopher, may be regarded as representatives, during this period, of those three important branches of human knowledge.*

The monk to whom we have just alluded wrote his history of Charlemagne at the command of the emperor Charles le Gros, to whom he dedicated the work. We notice him in preference to the other chroniclers of the period for two reasons, — he is evidently more bold and independent in his manner of writing, and he is a better painter of the times. In fact, he gives us a fuller insight into opinions and habits than all the rest taken together. The vices of the clergy he does not hesitate

* The monks of St. Maur, *Histoire Litteraire de la France*, tom. iv. v. vi. (*Dissertations sur l'Etat des Lettres dans les Gaules.*) Guizot, *Histoire de la Civilisation*, tom. ii. iii. passim. The preceding paragraph, however, is chiefly founded on the works of the above writer, most of which are contained in vola. ix. x. xi. of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*.

to unfold ; and as to their resentment he defies it, so long as he is assured of the favour of his imperial master, Charles the Fat. One or two extracts will better exhibit his character, or rather that of the age, than any description of ours : —

" Another prelate of a very little place * was not content with passing, like the apostles and martyrs, as an intercessor for men with the God of all ; nothing below a sort of divine worship would satisfy him. He endeavoured to conceal this spiritual pride under the mask of holiness, for fear he should be taken for a pagan deity. Among his vassals, he had one not ignobly born, brave, industrious, who, however, could never obtain a benefit, nor even a kind word, from him. In his uncertainty how to assuage the resentment of the bishop, he thought at last that if he could prove he had wrought something miraculous through that prelate's name he should gain his object. Accordingly, as he one day left his house for the bishop's, he took with him two little dogs of the breed, which, in French, are called *levriers* : these, such is their extreme swiftness, easily take foxes, or any other kind of wild animals, and sometimes even outstrip the *carré* †, and other birds. On his way, perceiving a fox laying wait for mice, he quietly slipped his dogs at the animal, and such was their swiftness, they caught it within a bow-shot. He followed them rapidly, and reached them in time to save it from their teeth and claws. Rejoicing in his capture, he hid his dogs where he could, entered the palace of his lord, and humbly said, — ' Behold, my lord, the present which my poverty permits me to make.' The bishop, smiling, asked him how he had been able to catch so fleet an animal alive. Approaching the prelate, and swearing by the life of the emperor that he would speak the truth, replied, — ' My lord, while riding through yonder field, seeing this fox at a distance, I galloped after it ; but, the animal fled with such rapidity, that it was almost out of sight, when, stretching out my hands towards heaven, I said, — *In the name of Rechon, my lord, stand thou still; move not a step! Wonderful to behold! there it remained as if it were chained to the ground, and I caught it as easily as if it were a strayed sheep!*' Puffed up with vain glory, the bishop openly boasted, ' Now is my holiness evident to all the world ; I feel what I am, and I know what I shall one day be.' From this time he loved the man whom he had before hated, more than all his friends."

* *Parvissimæ civitatulæ.*

† *Avis species incognita.* — *Ducange.*

In this curious work, there is scarcely one anecdote which does not contain some reflections on the clergy, generally on a bishop, — a character which appears to have little favour in the eyes of our monk of St. Gall. Gluttony, ignorance, fornication, haughtiness, he represents as the general concomitants of the vicars spiritual. The following is not only characteristic of the writer and his age, but has the further merit of being somewhat poetical : —

“ There was a certain bishop, greatly attached to the vain things of this world. The devil, who saw this, one day assumed the human form, and went to a poor man, not without avarice, to whom he promised riches without end, as the condition of a lasting covenant between them. When the poor wretch had consented to the offer, the cunning deceiver said, ‘ I am going to change myself into a noble mule; mount me, and go to the bishop’s palace. The moment he sees the mule, and begins to desire it, appear reluctant to sell it, hesitate, refuse, exaggerate its value, pretend to be angry, and to depart: then he will certainly run after thee, and offer thee a vast sum of money. At length, overcome by his request, and laden with gold, give him the mule, not as if willingly, but with reluctance; then, without losing a moment, betake thyself to some hiding-place.’ So the event happened. Unable to wait until the following morning to try the beast, the bishop mounted in the heat of the day, passed through the city, galloped into the plain, and reached the banks of the river, into which he plunged, to enjoy the coolness. Old and young followed, in honour of so noble a person, this rapid ride, eager to see him cleave the water like a dolphin. Suddenly this Belial, the old enemy of men, as if impatient of the bridle and rein, and burning with hell fire, began to sink into the river, with the bishop on his back. It was with extreme difficulty that the soldiers and fishermen could save him.”

It is, however, mere justice towards our monk to observe, that he introduces *one* bishop as a man of virtue. The following extract will exhibit not only the credulity, but the superstition of the country; how deeply the authority of the church was rooted in the minds of men, when the violation of abstinence occasioned more compunction than the commission of a moral crime : —

" In new France there was a certain bishop of admirable temperance and holiness, whose liberality and charity were quite unequalled. Incensed at such virtues, the old enemy of all righteousness inspired him with such a desire to eat flesh-meat during Lent, that he believed he should die if he did not satisfy it. Several holy, venerable priests encouraged him by their advice, and persuaded him to consent that meat should be given him for the restoration of his health, since the rest of the year he might, as he had always done, mortify his body. Unwilling to refuse them, and to destroy his own life, he yielded to their influence, and, when reduced to the last extremity, put a morsel of meat into his mouth. Scarcely had he begun to masticate it, scarcely, indeed, did it touch his palate, when he felt such abhorrence, such disgust, such loathing, not merely for meat and every other kind of nourishment, but for light and life, such despair of his own salvation, that he would neither eat nor drink, nor would he place his hope and trust in the Saviour of men. Being now considerably advanced into Lent, the fathers, learning his inward conviction that he had been deceived by the devil's illusions, advised him to expiate the sin of a moment by more severe fasting, by contrition of heart, and almsgiving. The bishop wanting, like a man of religion as he was, to follow this counsel, and determined both to confound Satan's malice and to obtain his own pardon from the restorer of innocence, condemned himself to fasting two or three days together, refused to sleep, attended the poor and the stranger, whose feet he washed, and to whom he gave as much clothing and money as his means would permit. Not satisfied with this, on the Saturday of holy week he borrowed from all parts of the city a great number of pans, and prepared hot baths, into which he admitted the poor from morning to night, shaved the wretches with his own hand, removing with his nails the sores, scabs, and blisters of their hairy bodies, anointing them with precious ointment, clothing them in white garments, and making them look as if they had just been born again. At sunset, seeing nobody else who needed his cares, the bishop entered the bath himself; soon coming out with a body clean like his conscience, he clad himself in pontificals of dazzling whiteness, preparing, according to the episcopal order, to celebrate the divine rites before the people. On his way to the cathedral, the cunning devil, desiring to thwart his pious purpose, and force him to break his vow by dismissing a poor man without washing, took the form of a most disgusting frightful leper, covered from head to foot with running sores, clad in a garment stiff with running matter, crawling trembling along, and moaning heavily, appeared before the bishop at the

entrance into the church.* Returning, by an inward revelation, that he might see by what a temptation he was nearly overcome, the holy pontiff laid aside his vestments, heated the water, plunged the leper into it, and taking a razor, began to shave his hideous head. When he had shaved one side from the ear to the middle of the neck, he proceeded to do the same on the other ; but on finishing the second side, wonderful to relate, he found that hairs had sprung up longer and thicker than those he had cut ! Still he did not cease to shave, nor the miracle to be renewed, until — *horresco referens* † — an eye of wonderful size suddenly appeared under the very hand of the bishop ! Affrighted at such a prodigy, he started back, crossing himself, and calling on Christ in a loud voice. Unable, through the virtue of this holy invocation, to conceal his tricks any longer, the deceiver vanished in smoke, saying, as he disappeared, ‘ This eye was on thee when thou atest flesh-meat in Lent ! ’ ”

Such marvellous things abound in the works of the monk of St. Gall. They were the taste of the age, and are to be found in other chroniclers of the times. They are not more marvellous, perhaps, than those which we read in Gregory of Tours, or his contemporary namesake of Rome ; but they are of a different character. From this period downwards, throughout the middle ages, demons perform most of the portents, while in former times they were wrought by saints. This curious fact can be explained only by the hypothesis that religion became a principle rather of fear than of love ; that the mind was supposed to be more easily terrified from vice than attracted towards virtue. ‡

Hincmar, the ecclesiastical representative of his age, born in 806, of a noble family, in the north-east of Gaul, professed early in the monastery of St. Denis.

806

to

882.

* This monk must have been well acquainted with the infirmary of St. Gall : in such disgusting matters he is really eloquent.

† It is not unfrequent to meet with quotations and phrases from Virgil or Ovid in the writers of the middle ages, even in the bulls of popes : they form a singular contrast with the rest.

‡ Monachus S. Gallensis, *De Gestis Caroli Magni*, lib. i. (apud Canisium, Thesaurus Monumentorum, tom. ii. pars 2. p. 65, &c.) Guizot, Notice sur les Gestes de Charlemagne. (*Collection des Mémoires*, tom. iii. p. 165, &c.) The Monks of St. Maur, *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. v. p. 614, &c. Basnage, *Observatio de Gestis Caroli Magni*, p. 55. (Canis, ubi supra.)

But as he was destined to be the favourite of kings, he was often at court, where he was soon enriched by their generosity. From 840 to 844, while with Charles the Bald, he revived several monasteries ; and in 845 he was elected to the archiepiscopal throne of Rheims. For this sudden elevation it is not difficult to account : he had already the royal favour ; and, as he was known to be a vehement supporter of ecclesiastical discipline, no less than of ecclesiastical immunities, he naturally won the suffrages of the clergy. From this period his activity, we may add his influence, in the church of France, was boundless. He was present at near forty councils, in the decisions of which he had no slight share. His letters, many hundreds in number, addressed to popes, emperors, kings, queens, princes, dukes, counts, archbishops, bishops, abbots, priests, scholars, &c. prove the consideration in which he was held by all Christendom. His works, of which seventy are extant, and many others we know have been lost, equally evince the indefatigable activity of his mind. He consecrated the kings of France, directed their consciences and affairs ; yet that he preserved alike his own personal independence, and the pretensions of the church, is evident from his frequent opposition to the throne. What can so forcibly prove the influence which the church had acquired ; what exhibit so striking a contrast of its present and former condition under the Merovingians, as the following passage from one of his works ? —

“ Some learned men say that this prince (Lothaire), as monarch, owes no submission to the laws or judgment of any human being, but to God alone, who has made him what he is ; that whatever he do he cannot be excommunicated by his own bishops, nor judged by others, for God alone has the right to command him. Such language is no part of Christianity ; it is full of blasphemy and of devilish sophistry. From apostolic authority we learn that kings should be subject to those who in the Lord’s name watch over their souls. Thus the beatified pope Gelasius writes to the emperor Anastasius :— ‘ This world is governed by two chief powers, the pontifical

and the royal; and the authority of bishops is so much the greater, in that they are accountable to heaven for the souls of kings themselves.' To say that the monarch is not subject to the laws or judgments of men, but only to God, may be true if he be in reality what his name implies. He is called a king (*rex*) because he rules, governs: if he governs himself after the will of God; if he directs the good in the right path, or corrects the wicked so as to bring them from the path of evil into that of righteousness, then indeed he is a king, and subject to God alone; — but if he be an adulterer, a homicide, unjust, or a destroyer of chastity, he may and ought to be judged, and that secretly or publicly, by the bishops, who are in truth the thrones of God."

Were the maxims of ecclesiastical sovereignty, which two centuries afterwards Hildebrand so ably enforced*, ever more unhesitatingly promulgated, even in those ages when theocratic despotism was virtually established? In his communications with the popes, whom, as the heads of the episcopal body, these maxims would naturally invest with all earthly sovereignty, Hincmar did not always regard their tenour. If he was generally obsequious, he was sometimes in opposition. But even he, head as he was of the Gallican church, the most powerful in Christendom, could not struggle with that new and tremendous authority which threatened to extend its sceptre over the bodies and effects, no less than over the souls and consciences, of men. In fact, he appears to have had no fixed notions on the bounds of metropolitan and papal jurisdiction; or, perhaps, he moved them to suit his own views. No man, however, could be better versed in the canons; and no man better knew how to profit by the advantage. But if he be thus high as a canonist, as a theologian he ranks much lower. At this period (the ninth century) the science was assuming a new aspect. During the preceding two centuries it had slumbered — under Charlemagne it began to awaken.

"Created," says M. Guizot, "in the five first centuries by the Greek and Roman fathers, the Christian theology had received, even in opposing it, the impress of that ancient

* See Vol. I. p. 149, 153, 156.

civilisation in which itself was produced. The dogmatic or doctrinal system, as unfolded and arranged by St. Basil, St. Athanasius, St. Jerome, St. Hilary, St. Augustine, and others, differed essentially from the systems of the Stoics, the Platonists, the Peripatetics, &c. and yet it claimed some degree of kindred with them : it was a philosophy also, a doctrine, which was not entirely derived from the decisions of the church, and which did not rest entirely on the authority of that church. When, after the slumber of a century and a half, the theological impulse began to be felt in the West, the fathers of the early church, especially St. Augustine, were regarded as infallible authorities, as the great masters of faith. To the theologians who now began to arise they were precisely what the apostles and the Scripture had been to themselves. But the state of society, whether civil or religious, was completely changed ; so that the new divines, while scrupulously following the guidance of the ancient fathers, could neither reproduce nor imitate them. Between the divinity of the first five centuries, produced in the bosom of Roman society, and that of the middle ages, brought forth in the bosom of the Christian church, and dating its origin from the ninth century, there is a wide gulf."

The truth of these observations—the reality of a wide distinction between the intellectual state of the church at the two periods—is apparent at every step. In the latter, theologians were no longer philosophers : they no longer examine tenets in themselves, with reference to certain abstract principles ; they merely follow, and slavishly follow, the rules of faith long before established, and they regard him as the best theologian who can most dexterously apply the texts of the fathers to such cases as arise. In this respect there is a clear analogy between them and the jurisconsults. The latter never examined into general principles of right, into the law of nature and of reason : all that they did was to follow certain legal precedents, certain received axioms ; and their ability consisted in the deduction of consequences from these axioms, and in applying them to particular cases. In like manner, the former perpetually recurred to the authority of the fathers, whose text was received in the same spirit as that of Justinian by the legists of the schools. In both cases, though this exercise of the

intellect was favourable to logical subtlety, though it formed admirable dialecticians, it could not create philosophers. Hence Hincmar, like the other divines of the age, never aimed at original views: his object was to discover and to apply those of the fathers. But that even in this path he was less successful than some of his contemporaries appears from the famous dispute respecting predestination and free-will, raised by Gottschalk, a monk of Fulda. Running exactly counter to the Pelagians, who, by almost annihilating the influence of the Divine Spirit over the soul, erect free-will into something little short of deity, the monk maintained that all virtue, all vice, that the lot of man in this world and the next, are but the results of God's eternal decrees; consequently, that man is but the blind instrument of destiny, helpless alike for his own weal or woe. This monstrous doctrine, which in more recent times Calvin and others have revived, just as Gottschalk himself derived it from the disputants of the ancient church, was regarded with horror by the divines of France, by none more so than Rabanus Maurus, archbishop of Mayence. It was condemned by a council held in 848, under the presidency of that dignitary. The culprit fled into the jurisdiction of Hincmar, who condemned him also, and even ordered him to be publicly whipped; and when he refused, with a constancy that would have honoured John Knox himself, to retract, he was consigned to durance vile in the dungeons of the monastery at Hautvilliers. To the honour of the Gallic church, be it recorded, this arbitrary conduct of the archbishop called forth the indignant murmurs of the most distinguished ecclesiastics in the country. The storm was so great that Hincmar applied to his brother of Mayence for aid in a common danger; and when he found himself abandoned by that prelate, he engaged a priest of his cathedral to disprove the doctrine of Gottschalk. As the work is lost, we know not what merit it had; but a second assailant, at the entreaty of Hincmar, soon appeared in the field. This was Joannes Scotus,

or Erigena, a philosopher and a layman, a man of subtle powers, but probably little acquainted with either the merits or the history of the controversy. As might have been expected, however, he inclined to the opposite error of the Pelagians, assigning to the free-will of man an absolute control over his own moral nature, and over his destiny here and hereafter. As some of his other propositions were equally dangerous, it is no wonder that he should be assailed by a host of orthodox writers, and that Hincmar, whom he had thus compromised, should come in for a share of the general censure. The latter himself now took up the pen, and composed two works, one of which is extant. According to Fleury, the monks of St. Maur, Guizot, and others, — for, as we have no wish to run through the forty-four chapters, we shall offer no opinion on its merits, — he exhibits in it more erudition than knowledge of the subject, more cumbrous reading than critical discernment.

"In this second treatise," say the learned Benedictines, "Hincmar acknowledges that his former treatise on predestination had been deemed feeble and insufficient in its proofs. The second has not more vigour. In it the author displays more erudition than judgment or correctness of thinking; and he has succeeded only in showing that he was no theologian. Even the erudition which he ostentatiously displays is without choice or criticism."

That the archbishop had the worst in the dispute is evident; but, as usual in all important cases, the affair was carried to Rome. Nicolas I. did not decide it. The dispute continued, however, until the death of Gottschalk, who refused to retract an iota of what he had asserted, and who eventually died without the sacraments of the church. In three years afterwards Hincmar himself closed his eventful career.*

* *Epistolæ Hincmari Rhem. Archiepis. passim (in Bibliotheca Patrum, tom. ix. pars 2).* The Monks of St. Maur, *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. v. p. 544, &c. Baroulius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, et Fleury, *Histoire Ecclésiastique (sub annis)*. Guizot, *Histoire de la Civilisation*, tom. iii. p. 100, &c.

In strictness, *John Erigena*, or *Joannes Scotus*,—probably a native of Ireland,—cannot be called the representative of the philosophy of his period, since he was the only one who had any knowledge of the subject. That knowledge, as may be readily supposed, was not derived from the western church: it came from the eastern, and, in a still greater degree, from the school of Alexandria. Whether he himself had travelled into the East has given rise to much controversy; what is certain is that he was well versed in the language and philosophy of the Greek empire. About the middle of the ninth century we find him established at the court of Charles the Bald, over whose Schola Palatii he was placed. Here he certainly translated, perhaps commented on, fragments or small treatises, at least, of the two Greek philosophers, Aristotle and Plato; nor is it improbable that he drank deeply from the dangerous well of the sophists. But he is most known for his translation from the Greek of a work attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite,—a fabrication, probably, of the fifth century,—in which there is just as much Christianity as may harmonise with the Platonic doctrines. Erigena had an amazing fondness for that dreaming mysticism in which the sophists of the East passed their existence. It may appear surprising that, while Gottschalk was pursued with unrelenting severity, the philosopher, whose errors were even more serious, was merely censured: the former only taught that man was predestined before all worlds to everlasting bliss or woe; the latter, that the soul forms a part of the divine essence; that on its departure from the body it is absorbed in the same boundless sphere of existence; and that, consequently, there is no such thing as individuality. But Gottschalk was only a poor monk, while Erigena was the favourite of princes. Of the terms on which he lived with Charles the Bald a characteristic instance is given by William of Malmesbury. One day, John being at table with the monarch, each opposite to the other, no sooner were the meats removed than the

cup began to go merrily round. After some jokes, Charles, perceiving that the philosopher was awkward, like all his fellows, in the polite usages of life, asked, "What is the distance between a sot and a Scot?" (*Quid distat inter sotum et Scotum?*) "The breadth of a table," was the reply. One that was thus allowed to banter a king was too high for theological vengeance. Besides, he was the friend of Hincmar, who, as we have before related, employed him to answer the heresy of Gottschalk. Never did the archbishop more grievously mistake his man, as was soon evinced by the host of disputants who now entered the field. What, for instance, is to be thought of the following propositions, extracted from his *Περὶ φυσεῶς μερισμοῦ*?

1.

"Nature" (by nature he understands the aggregate of created things, the visible universe,) "and time were created together, but authority does not date from the origin of time and nature. It was reason which commenced simultaneously with nature and time. This is demonstrable by reason itself; for authority is derived from reason, not reason from authority. All authority not based on reason appears worthless; but reason, supported by its own intrinsic force, needs no confirmation from authority. To me legitimate authority appears to be no other than truth discovered by the force of reason, and transmitted by the holy fathers for the use of future generations.

2.

"There is no necessity for adducing the authority of the fathers, especially if they are generally known, unless such authority be useful for the support of reason in the eyes of men who are more influenced by it than by reason.

3.

"The salvation of the faithful consists in the belief of what reason affirms respecting the sole principle of all things, and in the comprehension of what reason dictates.

4.

"Faith I believe to be no other than a certain principle by which, in a reasonable nature, the knowledge of the Creator is derived.

5.

"The soul's nature is unknown ; but it begins to manifest itself, both to itself and to others, in its form, and that form is reason.

6.

"The true course of reasoning may proceed from the natural study of things sensible to the pure contemplation of things spiritual.

7.

"So far from being of little importance, the knowledge of things sensible is exceedingly useful towards the comprehension of things intelligible. For as through the senses we arrive at intelligence, so through the creature we arrive at the Creator.

8.

"The cause of all things, which is God, is at once simple and multiple. The divine essence (goodness) is diffused, that is, it multiplies itself, in all things which exist ; and afterwards, by the same process, that essence, disengaging itself from the infinite variety of existing things, returns to concentrate itself in that simple unity which comprises all things, which is in God and is God, so that God is every thing, and every thing is God.

9.

"Just as in its origin the whole river springs from a fountain, just as the water arising from that fountain spreads without intermission along the bed of that river, whatever the length of its course ; so the divine goodness, essence, wisdom, life — all that exists in the universal source of things — first diffuses itself into primary causes, thus giving them being, and afterwards passes from these primary causes into their effects, thus circulating, in a manner ineffable, and in a course uninterrupted, from things superior to things inferior, and returning at length to its source by paths the most intricate and secret.

10.

"God, who alone truly exists, is the essence of all things ; for, as Dionysius the Areopagite says, 'Being in all things is that which partakes of the divinity.'

11.

"God is the beginning, the middle, and the end : the beginning, in that all things proceed from him and participate in his essence ; the middle, in that all things subsist in him and

by him ; the end, in that all things tend towards him as their repose, as the term of their motion, as the stability of their perfection.

12.

" Every thing termed an image of God, every thing we see, feel, and comprehend, is but an appearance of what is unseen, a manifestation of what is hidden, a path opened towards the intelligence of what we do not comprehend, a denomination of that which is ineffable, a step towards that which cannot be reached, a form of that which has no form.

13.

" We can conceive nothing in the creature except the Creator, who alone truly is. Out of him nothing can be properly termed essential ; for all things proceeding from him are merely, as regards their existence, a certain participation in the being of him who alone has no procession, who subsists by himself.

14.

" We should not conceive God and the creature to be two distinct beings, but as one and the same being. For the creature subsists in God ; and God, in a manner equally wonderful and ineffable, creates himself, if we may thus speak, in the creature in which he is manifested : from invisible he becomes visible, from incomprehensible, comprehensible."

These extracts prove that John Erigena had none of the spirit of Christianity, or none at least beyond what was necessary for a philosopher of the Alexandrian school, of which he may be termed the representative. The theologians of that age were at no loss to perceive the dangerous tendency of his doctrines ; but during some time the hostility raised against him did not much affect him, since it did not procure him the displeasure of Charles. Even Nicolas I. appears to have summoned him in vain before the apostolic court at Rome. In the end, however, he appears to have retired from the world ; — whether to a retreat in France itself, as some will have it, or to England, where, as others contend, he was patronised by Alfred the Great, is exceedingly doubtful. We read, indeed, of a Joannes Scotus, whom Alfred placed over the school of Oxford ; and authors of the twelfth, if not of the eleventh century, assert that

he was identical with the friend of Charles the Bald. But it has been contended by others, and with considerable plausibility, that they were two distinct persons. We shall not here enter into the dispute, for the works are of more importance than the men. Before we dismiss him, we must advert to a treatise which he wrote on the eucharist, but which is no longer extant: we have, however, a reply to it by Adrevald, monk of Fleury, who exposes what the Roman catholic church denominates his errors. That a philosopher like Eri- gena should be no believer in transubstantiation might readily be inferred; it is even doubtful whether he admitted the real presence in the eucharist, or what schoolmen term consubstantiation. As he took care, however, to envelope his opinions in prudent mysticism, we need not wonder that, like those of Erasmus, they should have divided the theological world.*

II. *From the Tenth to the Fifteenth Century.*

ADOPTING the division which we followed in regard to the preceding period, we proceed to consider, separately and consecutively, the religious and the intellectual state of France and Germany during the five centuries before us, — a vast range, but one that must be passed over with incredible despatch.

1. The state of religion during these five centuries exhibits some momentous changes both in France and to Germany. The power of the popes, instead of de- 987 1410.

* Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, et Fleury, *Histoire Ecclésiastique* (sub annis). The Monks of St. Maur, *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. v. p. 416, &c. Mabillon, *Acta SS. Ord. S. Benedicti*, tom. vi. p. 509, &c. Usher, *Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge*, p. 41, &c. Guizot, *Histoire de la Civilisation*, &c. tom. iii. leçon 29.

The limits which are unavoidably observed in the present work have placed the author under great disadvantages. If he dwells even slightly on each of the numerous points which a subject like the present must exhibit, he soon exceeds his bounds. If he passes rapidly over them, his work becomes a barren nomenclature,—a dry record of facts, names, and dates. This consideration ought, in all justice, to disarm the severity of criticism; although it does not always succeed in doing so.

clining, was considerably augmented, chiefly by the causes at which we have already glanced in the present and preceding volume. The institution of new monastic orders, especially of the friars, who may be properly termed the papal militia, had a wonderful effect on public opinion : for ever extolling the sanctity and the authority of St. Peter's successor, his constant allies in whatever assaults he meditated on the independence of kings and bishops, carrying his commands, in despite of all opposition, from kingdom to kingdom, these restless, enthusiastic men identified his cause with that of the church, nay, with that of religion itself. Unwelcome as his pretensions were in the abstract, there can be no doubt, as we have more than once intimated, that his influence was often salutarily exercised. If kings, whose power is restricted to one kingdom, may be said to have long arms, the assertion holds good *à fortiori* of popes, whose authority was recognised through a wide extent of kingdoms and nations. No offending bishop, however distant his diocese, however protected by his sovereign, could hope to escape the ubiquitous rod suspended over him. The kings of France, like the emperors of Germany, quailed before this distant power ; or if they were so rash as to draw the sword against it, they were soon humbled. It was a novel sight to see monarchs of the greatest people under heaven submit to a humiliating public penance, or bend for absolution to some papal legate, who had no legions at command, whose power wholly rested on opinion. But that power eventually declined. The schisms of the popes, the notorious dissipation of most who dwelt at Avignon, no less than their unprincipled subserviency to the French kings, and the worldly policy of all, whether at Avignon or Rome, were fatal to a power which had no other foundation than its reputed sanctity. In the other dignities of the church there was a corresponding decline. So long as archbishops and bishops were intent only on the duties of the station, so long as they were selected for their merit only, religion could not lose its reverence,

nor its ministers their worldly consideration ; but when they became great temporal barons, when, consequently, the dignity became attractive to ambition, men of family were the most frequent and successful candidates for it. The duties of the richer sees were generally performed by deputy, while the dignitary joined in the pomps and follies of the court. The same was the case in regard to the mitred abbots, whom we continually find in the retinue of princes. Sometimes, indeed, they were compelled to visit their monasteries : but as, while there, they took care to uphold a cumbrous stately ceremonial, as if resolved to exact from others the homage they themselves had been constrained to pay to royalty ; as, disdaining to live with their brethren, they occupied a separate magnificent edifice, encompassed by a host of pampered menials, those monasteries could very well have dispensed with their occasional visits. That during their frequent absence discipline should be relaxed, that their presence should inculcate luxury and pride, was inevitable. For the abuses which so notoriously reigned in the secular church, the censors of councils endeavoured to provide a remedy ; but without a power at hand, both able and willing to enforce them, the best decrees would be no better than waste paper : the bishops were themselves too much implicated in these abuses, heartily to co-operate in their removal. In like manner, the regular or monastic church had its reformers, whose efforts were successful only for a period. As, where an individual bishop had piety and firmness, he might enforce the observance of discipline in his own diocese, so, *& fortiori*, might the abbot, who, in addition to these qualities, possessed humility enough to prefer remaining in his cloister to the tumults of a court. Thus, while St. Fulbert of Chartres, and St. Wolfgang of Ratisbon, exercised this salutary influence in their dioceses, St. Mayeul, abbot of Clugny, and his successor, St. Odilo, were no less occupied in tightening the relaxed band of discipline. These it is sufficient merely to indicate ; but we must devote some attention to those whose sphere

of action was more extended, or whose characters were more extraordinary.*

960 Among those who most laboured at the reformation to alike of their clergy and flocks, must be reckoned St.
997. *Adalbert*, bishop of Prague. This celebrated man was a Bohemian. The time of his birth is unknown ; but it was certainly about the year 960, as in 973 we find him a youth at Magdeburg, prosecuting his studies under the archbishop. During a severe illness he had been devoted by his parents to the service of the altar ; and all his studies consequently tended to the ecclesiastical state. On the death of the archbishop he returned to Prague, where he entered into holy orders. Though in 983, on the death of the bishop Dithmar, he was only subdeacon, strange to say he was elected, with the full approbation of duke Boleslas the Pious, the successor in that see. At this time, indeed, the Bohemians were scarcely reclaimed from idolatry : in fact, the father of the present duke had been a pagan ; and St. Wenceslas, the uncle of the duke, had fallen a martyr to his faith. Adalbert owed his dignity as much to his birth as to any other cause. He was confirmed by the emperor, approved by the pope, and consecrated. But the bishop had little success in his labours among so fierce and barbarous a people. Though he watched and prayed, fasted and preached incessantly ; though he subjected himself to extraordinary austerities, was abundant in almsgiving, and visited with exemplary patience the sick, the captive, and the orphan, his merits were not understood. He could not restrain his clergy from concubinage, nor the laity from a plurality of women, nor both from drunkenness ; nor could he avert what he doubtless regarded as a yet greater evil,—the sale of Christian slaves to Jews and pagans. With equal bitterness did he complain of the general indolence of his priests, of the haughtiness of the barons, of the great immorality of all classes. Seeing the fruit-

* Founded on Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, on Fleury's *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, and other ecclesiastical authorities.

lessness of his labours, he resolved to abandon the kingdom, and lay his grievances before the pope. John XV. did not disapprove his purpose, and told him that it was certainly better to leave his flock than to perish with it. This moral cowardice does little honour to either. Yet Adalbert, in some things, had as much resolution, as much energy of purpose, as any man, of his age. His design was to go on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; and he prepared for the journey, not by amassing money, but by distributing all he had to the poor: even a large sum which the empress Theophania (consort of Otho II.), then at Rome, gave him, he secretly applied to the relief of the indigent. Having dismissed his domestics, assumed a mean garb, and laden an ass with books, clothes, and other things, he left Rome with an intention of embarking at one of the sea-ports in Calabria; but passing by the celebrated monastery of Monte-Casino, the abbot dissuaded him from his voyage, by representing it, with justice, as a doubtful duty, and as likely to produce more harm than good. He returned to Rome, and assumed the habit in the monastery of St. Alexis. In five years, however, his flock demanded him, and by the pope he was commanded to return. But though he was received with acclamation, his labours to regenerate the people were as fruitless as before. He was more successful in Hungary, whither he not only despatched missionaries, but hastened himself. But this success could not overcome his dislike of Prague, which he again quitted for his monastery at Rome. This second act of moral cowardice was severely reprehended by his metropolitan, the archbishop of Mayence, who reclaimed him of the pope. In 996, he abode for some time with the emperor Otho III., in that city, — probably endeavouring to procure his dismissal from the episcopal charge. On this occasion his biographer, Cosma of Prague, a writer of the twelfth century, praises his extraordinary humility. It exhibited itself, however, in a strange manner, when he brushed the sandals and boots of those who slept in the palace. Having

visited, with great devotion, the shrines of St. Martin at Tours, of St. Denis at Paris, and of St. Benedict at Fleury*, he reluctantly returned towards Bohemia. On his way, however, he learned what was not likely to raise his respect for it, that four of his brothers, with a considerable number of other Christians, had recently been massacred, before the very altar, by the pagan inhabitants. He had before experienced the truth of the saying, *A prophet has no honour in his own country*: now he heard that they absolutely refused to receive him, on the ground that he would seek to avenge the death of his brethren. It is difficult to account for the hatred which the Bohemians bore to him, and for his dislike to them. It could not wholly arise from their hostility to Christianity; for many were suffered to live and die in that faith unmolested. At this distance of time we need not seek out the reason. Let that reason have been what it might, he resolved to return no more to Prague. He first repaired into Poland, to duke Boleslas, in whose service he had an elder brother. While there, if the Polish writers are to be believed, he founded the archbishopric of Gnesna, of which he was the first prelate. Of this circumstance, however, no mention is made by Cosma of Prague, nor, as far as we can gather, by any writer prior to Dlugoss, the Polish historian of the fifteenth century. While there, he resolved to preach the Gospel to the pagan Prussians. Accompanied by thirty Polish soldiers, as an escort, he proceeded to Dantzig. There he converted many; and soon plunged into the wilder parts of the country, without his escort, which he had previously dismissed. While preaching one day on a little island in one of the numerous rivers of Prussian Pomerania, a barbarian struck him to the earth. He was taken to the neighbouring village, and asked respecting his name, country, profession, and the object of his journey. "I am a Slave," was the reply, "by name Adalbert, by profession a monk, formerly a bishop, now your apostle. The

* See Vol. I. p. 185.

object of my journey is your salvation, — that you may forsake your dumb idols, that you may acknowledge your Creator, the only true God, and that by believing in Him you may inherit life everlasting." The barbarians, incapable of comprehending him, only replied with curses, and with threats that, if he did not instantly depart from the country, they would put him to death. But Adalbert had no intention to return: he abode a few days at a place on the frontiers until his beard and hair grew, when, laying aside his pontifical robes, and assuming the habit of the people, he reappeared among them, hoping to pass as one of them, and to earn his subsistence by the sweat of his brow. He and his companions were soon surprised singing psalms, and were fettered. While Adalbert was exhorting them to suffer courageously for the truth, the chief of the heathens, named Siggo, who was also a pagan priest, hurled a dart which entered his breast: it was followed by six others; so that he sunk with the seven darts in his body. His companions having unbound his hands, he crossed them, and, while calling for mercy on himself and his murderers, his soul issued with his blood. He was immediately beheaded, the head triumphantly carried on a pole; but both head and body were soon afterwards ransomed by Boleslas of Poland. His companions appear to have been reduced to slavery. This prelate must be reverenced as the apostle of Hungary and Pomerania, at a time when the barbarian inhabitants were so dreaded that missionaries were in no hurry to venture there.*

Of a spirit kindred with that of St. Adalbert, though more distinguished as a missionary than a reformer, was to St. Otho, bishop of Bamberg, and apostle of Pomerania.^{1139.} He was a native of Swabia: the time of his birth is unknown; but he was probably advanced in years

* Cosma Pragensis, *Chronica Bohemorum*, lib. i. p. 15, &c.; necnon *Vita S. Adalberti*, p. 74, &c. (apud Dubravium, *Rerum Bohemicarum Etiqui Scriptores*). *Bollandisteae, Acta Sanctorum*, Die Aprilis xxiii. *Aeneas Sylvius, Historia Bohemica*, cap. 15. *Joannes Dlugossus, Historia Polonica*, lib. ii. col. 118. *Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique*, tom. xii. (sub annis).

when he died, in 1139. His family was noble, but poor ; so poor, that before he had finished his studies in philosophy, he left the school, and proceeded into Poland, where he knew such was the want of learning, that even his imperfect knowledge would be gladly received. There he opened a school, where he both taught himself and others, so as to acquire wealth and reputation. By the Polish nobles he was introduced to the notice of their duke, who employed him in some important negotiations. Of these, the chief was the negotiation, of a marriage between the duke, now a widower, and a sister of the emperor of Germany. He succeeded, and obtained the favour of that potentate, who made him his chaplain. This post was the foundation of his future fortunes. In a few years he was elected to the dignity of chancellor of the empire ; and, in 1102, he received the vacant see of Bamberg. Within the space of twenty years, Otho founded as many monasteries. But he was even more usefully employed in a mission into Pomerania, to convert the pagan inhabitants. For such a mission the victories of duke Boleslas had opened a way ; and it was at that sovereign's entreaty, no less than by the papal permission, that he undertook it. His success is said to have been prodigious : at Piritz he baptized, not hundreds, but thousands ; who, however, appear to have forsaken their gods rather through love of change than from any thing like conviction of the superior blessings of Christianity. At Stettin, Wollin, and other countries adjoining the mouth of the Oder, he had more difficulty : the pagans at first rejected his religion, contending that they were already more moral than the Christians ; that, for instance, they never stole, nor, consequently, had any need to hang or mutilate culprits for such an offence, which they understood was perpetually committed among all Christian nations. Self-interest at length did what persuasion would probably have failed to effect. Their duke, who was a Christian, and the duke of Poland, lord paramount of the province, consented to di-

minish their taxes, on condition of their embracing the new faith. All who pleased were now baptized ; but some grim old pagans, too honest to accept even eternal life on such terms, adhered to their gods until a better acquaintance with the virtues of the bishop disposed them to submit. They saw that he was charitable to all men, that he redeemed captives, clothed the naked, fed the hungry ; and they naturally began to love him. They offered no opposition when he ordered that huge sledge hammers should destroy their gods ; and when they perceived that he was neither blasted by lightning, nor riven by thunder, they agreed that his God was the most powerful, and they consented to embrace the same religion. Most of these conversions appear to have been enduring ; for Otho took care to leave missionaries, and to procure the nomination of a bishop, to fill his place after his return to Bamberg. In 1130 he paid a second visit to the country, with the same success ; but hearing that idolatry had been re-established at Stettin, the most barbarous district of Pomerania, he resolved to reclaim his old converts. In vain did his clergy endeavour to divert him from his purpose ; for they well knew that his death was decreed if he again appeared there : he persisted, and they honourably determined not to abandon him. In fact, accident only — which, as usual, is mystified into miracle — appears to have saved him from the wild apostates of that city. Fortunately there still were some sincere converts ; his presence emboldened others to declare for him. Such was the force of his discourse, and the sanctity of his life, that, in an assembly of the people, it was again resolved to restore Christianity, and to destroy every remaining vestige of idolatry. The resolution was carried into effect ; and though there were many displeased to see their gods every where broken to pieces, they were constrained to be silent. Time, and constant teaching, confirmed the whole population in the faith, though they continued to love their old traditions long after this event. In fact, down

to our own times, the wild tales of the Pomeranians are deeply impressed with a pagan spirit. The last years of his life were passed by St. Otho at Bamberg, in the exercise of the Christian virtues, which procured him the affection of his contemporaries, and the veneration of posterity.*

1050 The labours of another reformer, of *St. Bruno*, the celebrated founder of the *Carthusians*, were more successful than those of St. Adalbert. Of this churchman, a native of Cologne, and born probably about the middle of the eleventh century, we hear nothing until a dispute occurred between Manasses, archbishop of Rheims, and his clergy. Bruno was one of the accusers; and this is one of the many occasions where the papal authority was justly invoked, and beneficially exercised. After many evasions, Manasses was deposed. While a canon in that cathedral, Bruno formed the resolution of retiring from the world. In 1084, he went to consult Hugh, bishop of Grenoble,—a prelate famous for ascetic holiness. He had six companions with him, all anxious to enter into a life much more strict than that observed in any of the religious houses of France; the discipline of which, since the time of St. Benedict of Aniana, had greatly declined. The bishop advised them to settle in the Chartreuse,—a rocky wilderness, surrounded by savage mountains, about four leagues from Grenoble. Accordingly, the seven enthusiasts established themselves in that wild region. To avert the possibility of a temptation which all minds dread, Hugh published a proclamation in which all women were forbidden to pass near the monastery, and all men to fish, hunt, or graze cattle in its vicinity. Such prohibitions, indeed, were almost unnecessary, for the monastery was nearly inaccessible: one abrupt, winding, precipitate pathway only led to it. The course of life pursued by this little fraternity is graphically drawn by

* Vita S. Ottonis Apostoli Pomeranorum, lib. i. ii. iii. p. 41—96. (apud Canisium, Thesaurus Monumentorum, tom. iii.). Bollandistæ, Acta Sanctorum, Die Julii xi.

a contemporary, Guibert, abbot of Our Lady of Nogent, in the diocese of Laon : —

" Bruno, having abandoned the city, resolved also to renounce the world ; and, disliking his own neighbourhood, he proceeded to the territory round Grenoble. There selecting a precipitate road, exceedingly wild-looking, and accessible only by a difficult path rarely trod, below which opened a gloomy valley, or rather a deep ravine, he built his habitation, and founded a rule still observed by his followers. Each monk has his cell around the enclosure, and in it he labours, sleeps, and eats. On Sunday, each receives from the purveyor his nourishment for the following week, that is, bread and roots, their only food ; and each cooks his share in his own cell. Water, for whatever purpose, they may have in abundance from a cistern which surrounds the cloister, little pipes running into each cell. On Sundays and festivals they are also allowed fish and cheese : fish indeed they are not allowed to purchase, but they may receive it when offered to them by the charity of good men. Gold, silver, and church ornaments they have received from no one : all that they have is a silver chalice. They do not meet in the church at the same hours as we, but at others. On Sundays, and, if I am not mistaken, on other festivals, they hear mass. They never tire themselves by talking : if they want any thing, they ask for it by signs. They sometimes drink wine ; but it is so weakened, that it has no taste of wine, and differs little from common water. They wear a hair-cloth to cover their nakedness ; their other garments are very light. They live under the guidance of a prior ; the functions of abbot and procurator are performed by the bishop of Grenoble, a man eminently pious. Though straitened by such poverty, they have collected a good library : the less they possess of the bread which is perishable, the more anxiously do they labour for the bread which never perishes, but endureth for ever. As I have just said, they are rigid observers of poverty ; and the very year in which I write has witnessed a proof of the assertion. Inspired by devotion, and attracted by the reputation of the place, the count de Nevers, a pious and powerful man, has visited them. While with them he dwelt at great length on the ambition of the world, and exhorted them to keep clear from it. Yet no sooner was he returned to his own home, than remembering the indigence which he had witnessed, and forgetful of the sage discourse he had held to them, he sent them I know not how much silver plate, of very great value : but if he was forgetful, they were not. Having held a council together, they replied in the very words he had addressed to

them,—that as neither for their daily uses, nor for those of religion, they needed to retain the property of others, as they held such things in no repute, they could not see what need there was of receiving them. The count was somewhat ashamed of having offered what gave the lie to his exhortations: however, without being offended at their reproof, he sent them some ox skins and parchments, which he knew they wanted.—This place is called Chartreuse: it has a little spot of ground fit for the cultivation of corn. With the fleeces of sheep, which they breed in some numbers, they provide themselves with whatever they want. At the foot of the mountain are some little huts, where above twenty laymen constantly live under their direction. These monks are filled with such a love of meditation, that they have not a whit departed from the spirit of their rule; nor has their zeal in the least cooled by the austerity of their life."

In a few years, however, St. Bruno, at the express command of pope Urban II., who had been his pupil at Rheims, proceeded to Rome, to aid the holy see with his counsels. But such a man was not likely to feel at ease in a court, though that court was the residence of Christ's vicar on earth: he soon left it for a desert in Calabria, where he founded another monastery, and where he died in 1101. Fifty years after his death, the same testimony is borne to the poverty of the Carthusians by Peter the Venerable, abbot of Clugny, who proves that their austerities, instead of diminishing, had augmented. Until the time of Guigo, fifth grand prior of the order, who died in 1137, the Great Chartreuse, like the numerous filial congregations which branched from it, were governed by unwritten observances. As in the Great Chartreuse, thirteen monks only were allowed to live together, and sixteen converts in the huts at the foot of the hill; and yet, as applications for admission were perpetual, the prior had no alternative but either to refer the postulants to some other order, the Cistercians for instance, or despatch colonies into various parts of the kingdom. For a time the former policy was adopted: but at length it was resolved to multiply the establishments of the order, all strictly dependent on the Great Chartreuse. Seven of these

colonies, each headed by an experienced monk as prior, were sent into different parts of France. It was now (1128) that Guigo, at the persuasion of the bishop of Grenoble and others, resolved to commit to writing the constitutions by which they were governed, such as they had received them from St. Bruno their patriarch. By these we perceive that the Carthusians differed in some important respects from other monastic orders. In the first place, like the inmates of Camaldula*, they were hermits rather than coenobites; for each had a separate cell, and was not allowed to communicate with the rest, except on a few occasions. In the second, though their fasts were as rigorous as those of any other order, and their fare poorer than any except that of St. Romuald, they were not obliged to hear mass except on Sundays and festivals. When that office is celebrated, as in some religious establishments, two or three times a day, it cannot be regarded with much devotion. The Carthusians frequented the church twice only in the day — at matins and vespers; but they were obliged to repeat a long office daily in their cells. It must be recorded, to the honour of the founder, that the rest of their time was devoted to the improvement of the mind. Every monk was of necessity able to read and write; and once a week every one received pen, ink, and parchment, to copy the portion of MS. assigned him: many hours, too, were reserved for reading. A third peculiarity is more striking: poor as was their fare, and frequent as were their fasts — never less than three days a week — it was yet feared lest the impulses of the body shculd become too riotous to be governed: frequent blistering and bleeding was therefore enforced. The converts were not allowed to visit the upper house; nor the monks to descend to the house below. In the time of Guigo a terrible disaster befel the establishment. In these bleak regions the snow is often deep: on the tops of the mountains it is abundant; and sometimes an avalanche descends to choke up the defiles below. One of these

* See Vol. I. p. 199, &c.

visitations of nature unfortunately took the monastery in its way, and buried all in its ruins except a few, who were active enough to escape from the danger. After this accident the monks are said to have relaxed in their discipline. That the order had greatly declined about the middle of the thirteenth century, is evident from the acknowledgment of the thirteenth general. To convince his brethren that their lives were much more lax than those of their predecessors, he reproduced the original institutes of the order as promulgated by Guigo. "We have reason," he observes, "to dread the judgment of God, in that we have transgressed the bonds prescribed by our fathers: should any one doubt this fact, let him consult the statutes of dom Guigo, and he will soon see how different our manner of life is from that of our fathers." In short, prosperity proved as fatal to the virtues of the Carthusians as to the Benedictines, or any other order in the church.*

- 1024 Nearly contemporary with the foundation of the
to Carthusian was that of another order, still more cele-
1113. brated, — the *Cistercians*. *St. Robert*, surnamed *De Molême*, a gentleman of Champagne, renounced the world at the tender age of fifteen, and professed in the Benedictine house of *Moutier-la-Celle*, near *Troyes*. Here he doubtless improved in the usual monastic virtues; for we soon find him elevated to the dignity of abbot in *St. Michael de Tonnerre*. But he held it a very short time; the discipline of the place was much too lax for his notions of monastic purity; and as he was unable to reform it, he resigned his office. By pope Alexander II. he was commanded to assume the di-

* Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, et Fleury, *Histoire Ecclésiastique* (sub annis). Vita S. Brunonis (apud Surium, *De Probatis Sanctorum Vitis*, Die Octobris vi.). Guibertus Abbas B. Mariae de Novigento, *De Vita sua*, lib. i. cap. 2. Maffon, *Annales Ordinis Cartusiensis*, tom. i. A. D. 1084—1173. Guigo, *Vita S. Hugonis* (apud Bollandistas, *Acta Sanctorum*, Die Aprilisi). Sigebertus Gemblacensis, *Chronica* (sub annis). S. Bernardus, *Epistola ad Varios* (in *Operibus*, tom. i.). The Monks of St Maur, *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. ix. p. 251. (*Vie de S. Brunon*); tom. x. p. 433. (*Vie de Guibert*); tom. xi. p. 149. (*Vie de S. Hugues*); et p. 640. (*Vie de Guignes*), *cum multis aliis*.

rection of some hermits who had established themselves at Colan, a retreat between Tonnerre and Chably. For some years he appears to have been satisfied with the austeries of the new brotherhood ; but in 1075 he left them, retired into the desert of Molême, in Burgundy, where he laid the foundation of a monastery. This place, too, is said in its commencement to have been distinguished for its ascetic virtues ; but when these virtues had attracted the munificence of the rich, when ample possessions succeeded to a few barren rocks, they declined rapidly, we are told, from their pristine state. This is probably exaggerated ; but it is certain that the monks could not be persuaded to abandon their new advantages—to renounce tithes and oblations, and again to live by manual labour. Perceiving that his exhortations were of no avail, he quitted them, to undertake the government of another eremetical colony. The repentant monks, however, applied to the pope, who commanded him to return ; but as that repentance was short-lived, he and a few companions applied to Hugh, archbishop of Lyons, and papal legate, for permission to choose some retreat where they might observe the rule of St. Benedict in all its rigour unmolested. The request was granted ; Robert abdicated in the chapter his abbatial dignity, and, accompanied by about twenty monks who partook of his sentiments, he retired to the dark forest of Cistercium, or Citeaux, a solitude about five leagues from Dijon, in the diocese of Châlons, conceded to them by Renard, viscount of Beaune, the proprietor. Their first care was to build a number of wooden cells, with an oratory in honour, not of God, but of the Virgin. Having been elected abbot of the new community, Robert received the pastoral staff from the hands of the diocesan. The rule adopted was strictly that of St. Benedict, and they observed it with a rigour unknown to other communities : every article they interpreted in its most rigid sense, and would allow of no exemption or dispensation from any quarter. The foundation of an order which was so amazingly to mul-

tiply in France, and considerably in other countries, is commemorated in a rude monkish distich : —

“ Anno mileno centeno his minus uno,
Sub patre Roberto cepit Cistercius Ordo.”

In about a year, however, the founder was again compelled to return to Molême, which he did not quit until his death, in 1110. After this second return he is said to have found his old monks much more docile, and that he transformed them into Cistercians. It is not probable that, during his later years, he resigned all authority over the infant establishment at Citeaux ; or that Alberic, whom he entrusted with the government, and installed abbot, was, in reality, more than prior in power. However this be, the place flourished : Eudes, duke of Burgundy, took it under his protection, and added to its possessions : his bones were brought thither from the holy land ; and his second son Henry became a member of the community. It must not, however, be supposed that this prosperity was of sudden growth, or that the order had not its difficulties. Alberic, the second abbot, was long afflicted that nobody came to join them. No doubt the severity of an institute, where all superfluous finery, even all decent comfort, was banished ; where no oblations were received, where titles were renounced, where four hours' sleep only was allowed, and where one simple dish of vegetables was the daily allowance, was at first exceedingly repulsive. Under St. Stephen (an Englishman), the third abbot, the severity of the discipline was augmented, and made clearly to approximate to that of the Carthusians. In 1111, and the following year, this excellent superior had the grief to see most of his brethren removed by a pestilential malady. He was beginning to lament the approaching extinction of the community, and that he should be left to survive so many of his dearest brethren, when, in 1113, he was amply consoled by the arrival of thirty converts, headed by one who was destined to prove the greatest glory of the order, a doctor of the church universal, and beyond doubt one of the most remark-

able men of the middle ages — the far-famed St. Bernard.*

He who should attempt to write the life of St. Bernard in less than a volume like the present, would to show little judgment. It has been written in numerous languages by a thousand pens ; and it forms the subject of nearly as many volumes. The labours, the writings, the influence of a man who was the director of popes, the arbiter among kings, often the severe censor of both, to whom all Europe looked for advice ; who effected great good and great evil, — nothing so evil as the disastrous crusade which he directed against the east, — are not to be understood without innumerable details, derived alike from his personal, his ecclesiastical, and his literary history. Born near Dijon in 1091, devoted to religion from his infancy, and educated with a view to the church, he soon testified a predilection for the cloister. Nor was he satisfied with the care of his own salvation ; he proved that he had, or would be thought to have, a mission for that of others. He had an uncle, a father, five brothers, and one sister, whom he resolved to imbue with his sentiments : by degrees he prevailed on all, one by one, to renounce the world. With two, however, he had some trouble, — Guy, the eldest, who was the father of a family, and his sister, who was the mother of one. A piety more rational than his would have exhorted both to persevere in the duties of the state they had assumed, would have inculcated the active, useful virtues, in preference to the ascetical. But at no period of his life was this saint much distinguished for reflection : enthusiastic, fiery even, he never condescended to enquire into the nature and obligations of the social state, but, hurried along by one perpetual impulse, he acted as if the only way to

* Manrique, *Introductio ad Annales Cistercienses, et Annales (sub annis). Baronius, Annales Ecclesiastici, et Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique (sub annis). Bollandistæ, Acta Sanctorum, Die Aprilis xxix, et Die Augusti xx. Carolus de Visch, Bibliotheca Cisterciensis, p. 288. The Monks of St Maur, *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. x. p. 1, &c., tom. xi. p. 213.*

serve God was through monastic observances. Guy was at length persuaded ; but the difficulty was to persuade his wife, who clamoured loudly for her conjugal rights : she appears to have been terrified into submission ; she assumed the veil in a nunnery near Dijon. Humbeline, the sister, did not quit the world until some years after her brother became abbot ; but at length the same perverse inducement prevailed on her to renounce the duties of her station, and to enter the cloister. In short, such was the perverse success of Bernard's proselytism, such the rapidity with which he allured children from their parents, and husbands from their wives ; with which he peopled the cloister at the expense of the world, that, before he assumed the cowl, his visits were dreaded by most families : if his approach were known, wives hid their husbands, mothers their children ; in fact, he was avoided like the plague. In 1118, he presented himself at the new Cistercian foundation, accompanied, as we have before observed, by thirty converts. Never was so enthusiastic an inmate before received : by vigils, by fasts, by continued austerities of every description, by manual labour no less than rigid devotional exercise, he attenuated his body so that it was in danger of being swept away by the winds of heaven ; yet for all this, and though his countenance was emaciated and pale, the fire within him gave intense lustre to his looks. From his reception may be dated the greatness of the order : that very year the first filial foundation, that of Forté, was established ; others, such as Pontigny, Clairvaux, and Morimund, followed ; and, in their turn, each of these four abbeys became the fruitful mothers of other religious establishments. St. Stephen, the third abbot of the Cistercians, who may be termed the general of the order, was the first monastic dignitary who instituted chapters general. In selecting the monks who were to fill the office of superiors in the new filial congregations, St. Bernard, to whom the amazing prosperity of the order was so much indebted, was not likely to be over-

bashed : though only in his twenty-fourth year, he was placed over that of Clairvaux. In this capacity, he exacted too much from human nature. He expected all his monks to be filled with the same enthusiasm ; to obtain the same empire over the passions ; to be equally incessant in that mystic abstraction which scarcely recognised the existence of surrounding objects. But though he exhorted to a perfection unattainable in this mortal state, his brethren did not fail to respect him as one illuminated by celestial inspiration,—not the less so, perhaps, that his beatific visions, his aspirations after an intimate communion with another world, were incomprehensible to them. That his fame should spread widely was to be expected : in fact, his influence extended so rapidly, that the gradations are almost imperceptible. As his history, however, is that of all Europe, we must refrain from entering further into it. His character was a strange mixture of humility and pride ; as a man, and even as an abbot, he edified all by the eagerness with which he condescended to the meanest offices ; by the readiness with which he preferred every one to himself. But as an advocate for the rights of the church, for the immunities of the clergy, no less than for the great interests of morality, he was fierce, untractable, unforgiving, haughty, and tyrannical. With equal zeal did he reprove pope and monarch, prelate and doctor,—Eugenius III. like Louis VII. of France ; the archbishop Philip like Peter Abelard. His disputes with this last celebrated man, whom, not satisfied with condemning, he delighted to insult, are well known to every reader. The epithets which he bestows on his opponents might fill many pages ; such as, *beast*, *liar*, *fool*, *forerunner of Antichrist*, *demon* ; and do little honour to his memory. He had seen enough to despise the scholastic subtleties so rife in his days, and to discern that the propositions of Abelard, Arnold of Brescia, and others, would, if pushed into their legitimate consequences, be fatal to religion. But his intellect was far from being

of a high order : he had little learning ; he had no logic ; his judgment was weak ; yet he compensated for these defects by an eloquence which is described as wonderful. Neither his sermons, however, nor his epistles, nor his smaller tracts, earnest as is their manner, would lead us to infer his powers of persuasion, which must doubtless have chiefly depended on his animated delivery, on his impassioned manner, aided as they were by the reputed sanctity of his life, by the fame of his alleged miracles, and by the authority of his character. How fatally he moved the kings and nobles of Europe to arm for the rescue of the Holy Land ; how wonderful the zeal with which he inspired old and young ; how, in his enthusiastic exultation, as he distributed the cross with his own hands to tens of thousands, he promised victory after victory to his deluded followers — deluded by his very sincerity — is known to every reader of the crusades. The result proved that he was little of a prophet : the fall of thousands and hundreds of thousands on the wildest expedition ever undertaken by man, probably hastened his end, which arrived at Clairvaux, Aug. 20. 1153. In the estimate of his personal character, we cordially join with the members of the French Institute, who so nobly continue the invaluable work commenced by the monks of St. Maur.

“ Bernard was entitled to this supreme honour (canonisation) by the sanctity of his manners, by the fervour of his zeal, by the loyalty of his actions, and by the sincerity of his discourses. He never spoke any thing which he did not believe to be true ; he never attempted a thing which he did not believe to be right. No species of disguise, not the shadow of hypocrisy, is to be found in the whole of his conduct : history exhibits to us very few persons, indeed, who have combined, in the management of affairs, whether political or religious, so much openness and energy. The opinions received by the times exercised over him an empire which his invincible eloquence extended and enlarged in every direction.”

Of his literary qualifications the same eloquent and able writers speak at great length. Among other observations : —

" Simple with nobleness, always filled with thoughts and sometimes with sentiments, his letters may be regarded as the best productions of the epistolary kind that the twelfth century has left us. As to his sermons, most of them, we confess, do not appear to us to be impressed with the stamp of eloquence. They are chapters on morality rather than discourses properly so called, the thoughts of a pious mystic author, rather than the words of an orator. In them we observe, we think, more symmetry than connection, more evidence of ideas than of feelings, more understanding than eloquence." — " In our eyes, his tracts are his principal literary titles. The piety of a cœnobite and the imagination of a writer appear in his description of the several degrees of humility and pride. But his treatise on Grace, through the difficulty of the subject, the perspicuity of the thoughts, the vivacity of the expressions; and the four first books of Consideration, through the importance of the matter, the elevation of the conceptions, the nobleness and animation of the style, deserve perhaps the first place not only among the works of St. Bernard, but of the age. It is only in these tracts, in twenty sermons, and four or five long letters, that the abbot of Clairvaux has attended to the care required by the art of writing; every where else he abandons himself to his sentiments and ideas, to the unshackled activity of his imagination and mind, and, satisfied with barely expressing what he feels and thinks, he never composes works." — " His brilliant and fertile imagination appears in many of his works, however chastened by the austere gravity of the subject and of the author." — " How can we doubt the eloquence and genius of a monk who sent 100,000 pilgrims into Palestine, without going himself? Too worthy of our admiration through the vast impulse he gave to his generation, he has also a claim to our esteem, since the purity of his zeal, and his ardent desire for the welfare of the people, were manifest even when he led them astray. Though he is more celebrated for his influence over his contemporaries than for the works which he has bequeathed to posterity, yet even they would suffice to display the energy of his mind and the fecundity of his fancy. In his time most authors wrote what they had learned, not what they had thought: the works of St. Bernard are much less the fruits of his study than of his talents; and the defects even of his style may be referred rather to the ardent vivacity of his temper than to the bad taste of the age."

Before his death, St. Bernard could boast that he had added seventy-two monasteries to the order,—thirty-five in France, eleven in Spain, six in the Netherlands, five in England, as many in Ireland and Savoy, four in

Italy, two in Germany, two in Sweden, one in Denmark, and one in Hungary ; while many of these houses had founded others, so as to raise the number to above 160. To the details already given of his personal character, we may add, that he had no more indulgence for error, — that is, for any opinion not strictly harmonising with his church, — than for the most heinous moral offences : witness the ardour with which he denounced the opinions of the Albigenses. It had been well, however, had his successors followed his example in one respect : he held that reasoning and persuasion, not fire and sword, should be used in combating heresy.*

1047
to
1116. While Bruno, Robert, Bernard, and other saints, were thus reforming the monastic orders, there were not wanting ecclesiastics in other parts of France no less eager to effect the reformation of the secular clergy, and of the people. Of these, one of the most noted, as well as the most early, was the founder of the order of Fontevraud, Robert of Arbrissel, a village in Britany, not far from Rennes, where he appears to have been born, about 1047. Educated first in his own province, and afterwards at Paris, we find him, about the fortieth year of his age, archdeacon of Rennes. Like many others, he soon perceived the abuses of the church, and, unlike most of them, he resolved, as far as depended on his humble powers, to effect a reformation. Pluralities and simony have been in all ages the curse of the church ; and they existed more, perhaps, in Britany than anywhere else. A third grievance in his eyes was the concubinage, that is, the marriage of priests. So long as he was aided by his diocesan, his labours were not without success ; but, after the death of the prelate,

* Manrique, *Annales Cisterciensium*, A.D. 1113—1153. Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*; et Fleury, *Histoire Ecclés.* (sub annis). Gulielmus Monachus, *Vita S. Bernardi*, lib. i. Ernaldus Abbas, *Vita ejusdem*, lib. ii. cap. 1—7. Gaufridus, *Vita ejusdem*, lib. iii. iv. v. Bollandiste, *Acta Sanctorum*, diebus Aprilis xvii. et Augusti xx. The monks of St. Maur, *Histoire Littéraire*, tom. xi. p. 213, &c. Continuation de l'*Histoire Littéraire de la France*, par une Commission prise dans la Classe d'*Histoire et de Littérature Ancienne de l'Institut*, tom. xiii. p. 129, &c.

Every scholar must rejoice to find that this admirable work has such excellent continuators. They have, perhaps, the erudition of the monks of St. Maur, with ten times the criticism of these celebrated fathers. The continuation, however, sometimes betrays a spirit too sceptical. §

finding that he was a mark for vengeance, he proceeded to Angers to teach theology. There, too, the corruption of manners was at its height: it disgusted him so much, that, with one companion, he plunged into the forest of Craon, to labour, in silence and solitude, at his own sanctification. But in those ages to flee the world was the surest way to command notice. Robert was soon surrounded by a multitude of persons, of every age, and of each sex, eager first to see him, and next to profit by his instructions. Here, in 1096, he founded the abbey of Rota, for canons regular, a sufficient number of whom placed themselves under his guidance. Urban II., who visited Angers, sent for Robert, and was so satisfied with his preaching, — a duty which he fulfilled without intermission,—that he gave him full licence, under his hand and seal, to preach wherever and whenever he pleased. Flattered by this novel mission, Robert resigned the privacy of Rota, and travelled from town to town, from province to province, preaching as he went along, not in churches only, but on the highways and in the forests, calling all to repentance. His two most celebrated co-operators were St. Vital, afterwards abbot of Savigni, and St. Bernard, afterwards abbot of Tiron. Their united labours made so many converts, that Robert was compelled to found other monasteries. Of these the most famous was Fontevraud, on the confines of Touraine and Anjou; but he committed a sad error in receiving both men and women into the same abbey. Double monasteries might be innocently constructed when faith was fervent and manners were pure, — that is, in the earliest period of the church; but in the middle ages there was too much corruption of manners for so tempting an experiment. Fontevraud, in fact, was a triple establishment: there was a nunnery for virgins, a second for widows, and a monastery for men. The founder had soon reason to lament his policy: slander assailed his converts, and did not spare himself. But he persevered; ere long he obtained from Pascal II. the confirmation of his new order; and, at his death,

in 1116, he had 3000 inmates at Fontevraud, besides a considerable number scattered in other congregations of the order. It is singular enough that he left the government of the order to the widow Petronilla, and still more so, that one of the fundamental statutes was that it should *always* be under the guidance of an abbess. The rules which he drew up for the government of the monastery, or rather of the three monasteries, are few, but expressive. He enjoins silence, fasting, prayer, meagre diet, poverty, and strict seclusion, as rigorously as any other monastic reformer.*

Of *St. Bernard*, surnamed of Tiron, the friend and disciple of the blessed Robert d'Arbrissel, something must be related. Born in Ponthieu, educated at Abbeville, in his twentieth year, accompanied by three others, he hastened to the monastery of St. Cyprian, at Poitiers, where he professed. Here he remained ten years; when, hearing that the monks of St. Savin, a dependency of St. Cyprian, were preparing to elect him as their abbot, he fled into the wilderness, to join some hermits established in a community. Here he remained some years, practising every austerity, supporting himself by the labour of his hands, and preaching with some effect to the numbers who flocked to hear him. His retreat, however, was discovered, and he was brought back to Poitiers, where he soon succeeded the abbot. In this dignity he sustained persecution from a quarter whence he did not expect it. The monks of Clugny claimed the monastery of St. Cyprian as a dependency, and obtained a papal bull, by which, if Bernard disowned the superiority, he was interdicted from his functions. He did disown it, and went to join Robert of Arbrissel in preaching against the vices of the clergy, and in persuading them to adopt the institute of canons regular. When Robert had founded Fontevraud, and another friend, St. Vital, the monastery of Savigny, Bernard was no less anxious to become the chief of an order. For some years, however, he could not effect

* The policy of Robert was not unknown to the Anglo-Saxon church. See Lingard's *Antiquities*.

his purpose. His monks of St. Cyprian reclaimed him; he had again to sustain the persecutions of the monks of Clugny; and he twice visited Rome, to invoke in person the interference of the pope. The cardinals were somewhat amused at seeing an old man, worn out by austerities, and riding on an ass, enter the eternal city and the palace of their chief. The first visit was successful; but his reception on the second was not. In his anger, he cited both pope and council to answer for their injustice before a higher tribunal, and was preparing to return, when the pope consented to hear him. In the consistory he proved that St. Cyprian of Poitiers was an older house than that of Clugny, and that the pretension of arch-abbot, advanced by the superior of the latter house, was groundless. The result was, that the pope not only declared his monastery exempt from the jurisdiction of Clugny, but pressed him to accept the dignity of cardinal. Bernard, who had no such ambition, replied, that, instead of assuming other duties, he should be glad if the pope would relieve him of those he had as abbot of St. Cyprian. In the end he prevailed, and in return he received a commission similar to that conferred on Robert of Arbrissel,—to preach, baptize, and confess in whatever country he pleased. Accordingly, he hastened to Poitiers, assisted at the election of a successor, and, accompanied by a few proselytes, he plunged into the solitudes of Normandy. The count de Perche attracted them into the forest of Tiron, in the diocese of Chartres, where they built a wooden monastery and oratory, and where, in 1109, they celebrated their first mass. Monks so coarsely clad, who lived by the labour of their hands, were a novelty in these ages of ecclesiastical splendour: the new comers were at first taken to be Mohammedan spies—probably from their flowing beards,—but their peaceable, industrious, devout conduct soon caused them to be regarded as prophets. As usual, multitudes hastened to the forest; converts were made; and the monastery was beginning to flourish, when the monks of St. Denis de Nogent, a priory of

Clugny, laid claim to tithes and other dues. Rather than acknowledge their superiority, or dispute with them, Bernard abandoned the place, and obtained from St. Ives of Chartres the grant of another territory, lying on the river Tiron. There he founded another monastery, which in a short time became the head of a great congregation, having dependent on it twelve abbeys, forty-eight priories, and twenty-two parishes. At Tiron itself, the abbot retained 300 monks, whom he governed until his death, in 1116. He lived to obtain honours from the greatest monarchs, who made many valuable presents to his monastery ; but he expended all in hospitality and almsgiving, preserving to the last the utmost poverty among his disciples.*

1080 A much more celebrated man than either of the preceding was *St. Norbert*, founder of the order of the
 1134. Premonstratensians. Born about 1080, of a noble family, in the duchy of Clèves, and educated in a way becoming his birth and the expectations of his relatives, no dignity appeared too high for his reach. He chose the church ; but he had little feeling of religion, until a circumstance, which his followers would consider miraculous, forced him to renounce the vanities of the age. One day, as he was riding in a beautiful park, magnificently clad in silk and velvet, attended by a groom, a storm of thunder and lightning suddenly arose. The servant, who could discern the danger, called on him to return ; but it was no longer in his power : the electric fluid struck the ground close by his horse's feet, and made a terrific rent in it, sufficient to admit both man and horse ; but, fortunately, the concussion only threw both to some distance. In about an hour he recovered, and had wisdom enough to turn the circumstance to a proper account. From that moment, he became an austere zealot, renouncing his splendid apparel for sheepskins or other coarse clothing ; exchanging costly dishes for one poor daily meal of roots and water, and preaching repentance to the canons, probably with

* The Monks of St. Maur, *Histoire Littéraire*, tom. x. p. 153, &c. *Bollandiste, Acta Sanctorum, die Februario xxxv.* *Baronius, Annales Ecclesiastici* ; et *Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiast. (sub annis)*.

more earnestness than discretion. It is certain that the canons of Cologne took so great an aversion to him, that his life was in danger : he resigned his benefices, dismissed his domestics, sold his property, distributed the money to the poor, saving ten marks, and went to pope Gelasius, then at St. Giles, in Languedoc. Like two of the preceding reformers, he obtained permission to preach, without let or hinderance, wherever and whenever he pleased. With naked feet, and clad in his sheep-skin, Norbert proceeded, even in the depth of winter, when the snow reached his knees, to travel from town to town, from hamlet to hamlet, preaching repentance as he passed along. The bishops, however, were not much pleased with this roving commission : one of them, who filled the see of Laon, prevailed on him to found a monastery in the solitude of Premonstratum, or, according to the French, Premontre, which gave a name to his order. From this place, however, he made continual excursions to the neighbourhood, to fulfil what he regarded as his heavenly mission. In 1120, having twenty inferiors, all canons, he introduced the rule of St. Augustine : the habit was white, and of wool, except during the celebration of divine service, when a fine linen surplice was thrown over it. In a few years, several new foundations arose, all subject to the same rule, and filial congregations of Premonstratensians. The more celebrated were those of Capenburg in Westphalia, and of St. Michael at Antwerp. At the latter place, he had some trouble in rooting out a heresy, similar, in some respects, to those of the Albigenses, and to those of their legitimate offspring, the anabaptists. The head of the sect, like the heresiarch of Münster, gave himself out as a divine personage ; and, like Solomon of old, showed his privilege to the satisfaction of his female, and the jealousy of his male, dupes. But it was soon exterminated, or at least reduced to silence. In 1125, Norbert formally obtained a confirmation of the Premonstratensian institute, which had now nine abbeys. The following year he was elected archbishop of Magdeburg. It is

related by his biographer, a canon of the order, that when, after the election, he proceeded alone, with naked feet and coarse garments, to take possession of the palace, the porter refused him admission, telling him that there was no room for such a vagabond. The fellow's confusion was great enough, on discovering whom he had insulted. "Fear not, friend," said the new dignitary ; " thou knowest me better than others ; for I am not indeed fit for such a palace !" Such a man was not likely to be popular with the clergy and officers of his household : most of the latter he dismissed ; the rest he subjected to hard work and humble fare ; the clergy he compelled to resign their pluralities ; those who refused to disgorge their ill-gotten benefices he excommunicated ; and he endeavoured to render obligatory on all, the severity of his institute. Attempts were even made to assassinate him. He persevered, however, till his death in 1133, — an event hastened by his penance — when his order already numbered eighteen abbots.*

Such were the chief religious orders which, during the period under consideration, sprang up in France. The history of the military orders belongs to that of the crusades ; and as to the Carmelites, they too are of foreign origin : their cradle was Palestine, but the rule was approved by the pope ; and about the middle of the thirteenth century they were established in Paris, from whence they spread over most of Europe. The origin of these various orders throws great light on the state of society. We every where read of the secular clergy joining in the vices no less than the frivolities of the age : of pluralities, luxury, incontinence, worldly-mindedness, pride, neglect of ecclesiastical duties, merit supplanted by birth or influence ; while among the monastic

* * Vita S. Norberti, Canonico Premonstratensi Coœvo, cap. 1—20. We omit the miracles recorded by this contemporary canon : *De Fratre qui Daemonem apprehendere voluit* ; *Quomodo Daemon coram patre Norberto ursi similitudinem assumpsit* ; *De tribus Virginibus quibus post dissensum suum virus est*, and others of the same stamp. *Bollandiste, Acta Sanctorum*, die Junii vi. The Monks of St. Maur, *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. xi. p. 243, &c. Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici* ; et Fleury, *Hist. Ecclæs. (sub annis)*.

orders, even those which a little while before were distinguished for their virtues, we find an equal degeneration,—sumptuous faring, palaces instead of humble houses, abbots imitating the state of princes, in fact, ranking as princes, and religion reduced to a formal pompous ceremonial. Reformers, indeed, as we have seen, sprang up, and from time to time saved the church from impending ruin : but the change was but transient ; for no sooner were the new orders enriched by an admiring people, than they fell into the very vices of those on whose ruins they had arisen. At every step in the history of the middle ages,—in fact, at every one in the history of man,—we find that worldly wealth is incompatible with the growth of Christianity. Where there is prosperity, there is indolence, there is vice, there is a total indifference to the holiest vocation. When adversity comes, then are called forth the best powers of our nature,—powers which before were latent. We are apt enough to ridicule the austere observances of some infant orders ; yet we may be assured that without such austerities monastic piety cannot long subsist. The cœnobe who lives on the luxuries of nature, who sleeps softly, and has menials ready to satisfy every wish, will be little qualified to struggle with propensities generated by his mode of life ; if he do struggle, he will fall, and from that moment he must receive the yoke of the passions,—a yoke which death or severe affliction only can break. Smile as we may at the single daily meals of bread, roots, and water, and at the frequent abstinences even from such fare, enforced by the reformed orders,—at the blistering and bleeding of the Carthusians,—those reformers, if not great masters of human nature, were beyond all doubt best acquainted with the temptations peculiar to the cloister, and with the only means of resisting them. The truth is, that, though monachism is almost coeval with Christianity itself, and has always, with all its defects, proved a blessing to mankind, it has been framed without much regard to the nature and condition of man. “ Let not

war be waged," says an ancient canon, "until the strength of the enemy is known." Monastic vows have been and are taken at much too early an age, and too indiscriminately.*

1050 It was our intention to dwell at some length on a
1170. ^{to} few other saints, who, without being founders of orders, were yet conspicuous, either from the influence they exercised over their age, or for certain qualities which in a more obscure station deserve notice. We can but glance, in a single paragraph, at three or four of them. *Godelef*, a Belgian saint, of the eleventh century, exhibits, under the most barbarous ill-usage, a picture of patience which must draw the admiration of all readers, and which must have had a powerful and beneficial effect on young wives similarly situated. Born about the middle of the eleventh century, in the vicinity of Boulogne-sur-mer, and married at an early age to Ber-tulf, a Flemish gentleman, resident in the diocese of Bruges ; though she had, we are told, considerable personal attractions, yet scarcely was she under her husband's roof than she became the victim of an ill-usage, both from him and his kindred, which to us appears inexplicable. That he should suddenly dislike her is not incredible, for such things daily happen ; but that, without the shadow of a reason, he should have commenced a course of brutal conduct which has no parallel in life,—that she should become a prisoner in his house, debarred from all food except bread and water ; that she should be cursed, insulted, beaten, until she was worn to a skeleton, are circumstances which, though they may be true enough, her biographer does not descend to explain. The only moral lesson to be derived from this savage treatment is the unrivalled patience with which it was borne. So far from a murmur escaping her lips, her pillow by night, her face by day, were bedewed with tears for *his* sake ; for his conversion she hourly offered prayers to heaven ; nor did

* Founded on the authorities quoted in the preceding pages of the present chapter.

once a hint of the barbarity she experienced reach her own kindred, until she was expelled from her husband's roof, and forced to look to them for support. The event, however, became known, and the bishop, who was apprised of the fact, compelled the husband not only to receive his wife,—still, we are told, a virgin,—but to promise amendment. That immediately after her return he meditated her death, is consistent enough with the character of such a man: finding that starvation would not answer his impatience to be rid of her, he directed his confidential domestics to strangle her. At midnight she was called up by the murderers; and as she left her chamber, in obedience, as she supposed, to her husband's commands, she was strangled, and quietly laid on her own bed. When, the next morning, she was found dead, the report was publicly spread that she had destroyed herself. The miracles ascribed to her relics and intercession we shall not record; but we willingly join in the eulogium that, if ever female deserved canonisation, it was she; for no one ever so returned good for evil; none ever so devoutly prayed for her murderers; none ever wore so smiling a countenance amidst the most dreadful privations, amidst the wreck of every earthly hope, when life must necessarily have been a burden. This virgin martyr is one of the most celebrated saints of the Netherlands.—Of a character widely different was another saint of the following century. *Elizabeth*, surnamed of *Schonage*, born in 1130, in the diocese of Trèves, was the prototype of St. Catherine of Sienna: like her, she boasted of heavenly visits, of divine gifts, of revelations vouchsafed to no other mortal. Her life was written by her own brother, who appears to have been the ready instrument of her deceptions. In 1152, and in the eleventh year of her religious life, she was first visited, says her biographer, by the Lord. Sometimes the heavenly denunciations of wrath to come on a perverse generation, especially on the clergy, were communicated to her by an angel. She pretended great reluctance to unfold what she had

seen and heard, until one day the Lord threatened her with his anger if she did not warn the world of the coming judgment. But angels, and beings higher than angels, were not her only visitants : his satanic majesty often condescended to bear her company,—not to console, but to terrify and threaten her. Thus, on one occasion, *as he sat on her bed in the shape of a monk*, (reader, the monastery was a *double* one,) he threatened to knock every tooth out of her head ; but she was soon comforted by a formal visit from heaven's glorious queen, accompanied by St. Benedict, and another, whom she does not name. Again,

“ Another time, as I was standing alone in the chapter, praying, my adversary again appeared before me in the habit of a handsome priest. I was certainly frightened, though, to confound him the more, I persevered in my devotions. When I had finished, I went up *into the dormitory, whither he followed me* ; I then went into the sacristy, and stood between two sisters who were praying : there too he followed me, making lewd gestures, so that I could not remove my eyes from him. Unable any longer to bear his wickedness, I said boldly to him, ‘ I command thee, in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to refrain from such gestures ! ’ Immediately he changed in appearance, and stood before me in a grave monastic dress.”

Such temptations, however, were not frequent, and well was she consoled for them by her celestial visitants. Now the holy cross, now the evangelists, now legions of angels with Christ at their head, now the archangels, now prophets, saints, apostles, and martyrs, appeared before her. The revelations which were made to her, she reverently communicated to her brother, who committed them to writing. Sometimes they were in the form of sermons, sometimes of letters, often simple denunciations. It is certain that, through the cares of the abbot,—who was doubtless a participator in the fraud,—her revelations were widely spread, to the great edification of the faithful. She it was who gave currency to the legend of St. Ursula and the ten thousand virgins, of whom the names, characters, and places of

sepulture, were revealed to her. She died, superior of the convent, in 1165. Was she crazed? Charity would hope so; but there seems to be method enough in all she dictated, if, indeed, her brother Egbert did not often add something of his own. However this be, she and her contemporary *St. Hildegarde*, who pretended to revelations equally wonderful, must be consigned to the fellowship of Bridget of Sweden and Catherine of Sienna. Hildegarde was in one respect more fortunate than Elizabeth. Her revelations were formally approved by the *infallible* head of the church, and she obtained the honours of canonisation; while the other is only worshipped as a saint in the diocese of Trèves, being every where else regarded either as an impostor or as crazed. Hildegarde even more richly deserves the same reprobation, since there was more of cunning in the imposture she palmed on the world; nor are their associates less to be execrated than themselves.*

II. We have devoted so much space to the preceding subject, that we have little left for a consideration of the intellectual state of France and Germany during this period. In fact, the field is so boundless, that many such volumes as the present would be inadequate to explore it: how much more then a few pages? What observations we do make must be few and general: we cannot admit details, however important. — The intellectual state of the *eleventh* century differs little from that of the tenth. The prevailing character was barbaric: a mixture of credulity and false taste, engrafted on an ignorance which might be felt. Several circumstances, however, laid the foundation of a better order of things. In this century were sown the seeds which, in the following, were to bring forth fruit. 1. The reform of the monastic orders was among the principal. We have seen how reading and transcribing was obli-

* Drogo, *Vita S. Godelevæ*, p. 409, &c. Anonymus, *Vita altera*, cap. 1—8. (apud Bollandistas, *Acta Sanctorum*, die Julii vi.) Egbertus, *Vita S. Elisabethæ*, cap. 1—10. Bollandista, *Acta SS. die Junii xviii.* Idem, in *vitam S. Hildegardis*, die Septemb. xvii.

gatory on the Carthusians. The Cistercians had, also, the advantage of being governed by abbots of literary taste, who encouraged the same spirit in the various monasteries submitted to them. Two other saints, Hugh and Odilo of Clugny, inculcated the same love of letters in the famous monastery of that name ; while among the canons regular and the secular clergy of his diocese, St. Fulbert laboured with even greater success. 2. The establishment of new schools, and the restoration of such as had fallen into decay, was another of the means employed to the same end ; a means, indeed, very partially adopted, yet not without benefit. The school of Chartres was particularly celebrated. Grammar, logic, music, and theology were the usual branches of education ; but the more recondite depths of philosophy were not wholly neglected. Berenger, the celebrated opponent of transubstantiation, whose work called forth a host of replies from so many churchmen, from St. Anselm of Canterbury to the most obscure monks, was of the same school. That of Liège was also celebrated ; that of Tours was not inferior ; while Paris, Rheims, Toul, Poitiers, Verdun, Metz, Langres, Besançon, Arles, Dijon, with many other places, vied with each other in the diffusion of such knowledge as was to be expected from the times. The monasteries, however, far more than the cathedrals, were the places where knowledge was most freely distributed, — a consideration which, apart from others of a higher nature, must for ever entitle them to the gratitude of scholars. That a considerable number of writers should appear in this age, from the *philosophic* Gerbert (Sylvester II.) to Bernard of Utrecht, need not therefore surprise us. Nearly all of them, however, are either writers on dogmatic theology, or chroniclers of secular and ecclesiastical events, without taste, information, or method. For this reason, even if our limits would admit of it, we should be little disposed to make extracts from them.*

* The Monks of St. Maur, *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tom. vii. 7

The *twelfth* century was one of much greater pre- 1100 tensions ; in it, in fact, the human mind showed more to activity than at any prior period : it exhibits to us hun- 1200. dreds of writers, not only on the subjects which had hitherto almost exclusively occupied the pen, but on others which few had dared to treat — on the subtleties of philosophy, no less than on theology and history. For this revival of learning several causes may be assigned : the chief was, doubtless, the encouragement afforded to it by three successive kings—Louis le Gros, Louis le Jeune, and Philip Augustus ; and their example was imitated by several of the great feudal lords of France. That the two last monarchs conceded substantial privileges to students, is asserted by the contemporary chroniclers ; and, though we are not acquainted with their nature, we may infer, from the rapid multiplication of students, that they answered the end designed. The church exercised its influence generally in the same manner ; in some episcopal letters we learn that canons were required to study and to teach, no less than to pray ; and we even find instances where the revenues were withheld from ecclesiastics who failed in this condition. Again, the amazing multiplication of monasteries, to many of which schools were attached, led to a wider diffusion of knowledge. But in this and the preceding age, another species of literature — far different from that which was to be found in schools and colleges — sprang into existence. The vernacular languages of France and Germany may satisfactorily be traced to the tenth, if not the ninth, century ; but though there are compositions in them as early as the tenth, and more still in the eleventh, it was not until the twelfth that such compositions were generally and successfully cultivated. It will readily be seen that we allude chiefly to the poetry of the period, especially to that connected with the troubadours ; though prose romances were then far from unknown, and there are many poems on other subjects than that which occupied that amorous race. Every castle, every lady's bower:

now he had account for when he returned the venerable, but to Maur asserted that the his friendly aved approach from the way that it wasondrous obtained by virtue of his

That, after Maur should master was he success from a French establish chosen to among whom Maur, to w details, we he communethren, worked as ast-decay; he biography; he brother thus addressed

"If, de s in such myself, will apostle said others rather extion, we though we oly congre xample you through the salvation of

found scholar of his age. Innocent had studied at Paris, as well as at Rome and Bologna; and, after his elevation to the pontificate, he exhibited great zeal for the prosperity of letters in France. He established a professor of grammar (including logic and dialectics) in every cathedral, several in the metropolitan churches: his decrees at the council of Lateran, in 1215; the privileges which in that same year he conceded to the university of Paris, prove his enlightened views. His example was imitated, certainly on an inferior scale, but not without considerable effect, by Honorius III., Innocent IV., Alexander IV., Urban IV., and Nicolas IV. Philip Augustus, St. Louis, and Philip le Bel co-operated with the pontiffs. To the second of these monarchs, in particular, was France indebted for the multiplication of MSS. It is remarkable that he should first, while in the East, have resolved to establish a library at Paris. Hearing that the soldan of Egypt was indefatigably collecting from all parts, and causing to be transcribed or translated, the works of the ancient philosophers, "he was afflicted," says a chronicler of the times, "to perceive more wisdom in the sons of darkness than in the children of light." He began to collect MSS. of the Old and New Testament, and of the fathers, which he caused to be multiplied by transcription: all these he placed in the royal chapel at Paris, making them accessible to professors and students. The same liberality was shown by the Dominicans of Toulouse, by the bishops of Beauvais and Paris, by the archbishop of Narbonne, by many chapters, and by more monasteries. The professors of the university of Paris, too, were eminent enough to draw students from all parts of Europe: in fact, such names as Alexander de Hales, Albertus Magnus, St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Buonaventura, would have conferred splendour on any establishment. With inferior fame, but probably with equal utility, the universities of Bourges, Toulouse, Orleans, and Angers—foundations of this century,—imitated the example of the capital. The

studies, above all, pursued in these seats of learning, were peculiarly scholastic. It is curious to see what strange, often puerile subtleties, exercised the ingenuity of disputants, occasioning a fermentation as great as if the most momentous truths had been at stake. "If there had been no creation, could God have had pre-science?"—"What is the internal structure of paradise?"—"Did Christ ascend to heaven in the garments in which, after his resurrection, he appeared to his disciples?"—"Where are they?"—"Is Christ's body in the eucharist naked or clothed?" At this time it is difficult to account for the idle curiosity which prompted such questions, and still more so for the schisms, the violent recriminations, which they engendered. The same curiosity, however, was often directed to noble objects; we may ransack in vain the whole realm of philosophy for more profound disquisitions into the nature and relations of things. The mysteries, in particular, of predestination and grace, in which St. Thomas led the way, continued during two centuries to agitate the schools. The saint maintained, that, as God is the first cause, the *primum mobile*, of every thing, he must necessarily influence the actions without any regard to the resolutions of men; that this influence is twofold, physical and super-physical,—as evolved by the laws of nature, or communicated under the form of efficacious grace. Another school, that of Duns Scotus, assailed these conclusions, and proved that, while the material universe is bound by physical laws, the mind itself is unshackled by them,—at liberty to choose its own weal or woe, its condition here and hereafter: for, as to original sin, and the accidental hinderances of life, they may be removed by grace or providence. The most didactic of our poets has given the system of Duns Scotus in two lines:—

" And, binding nature fast in fate,
Left free the human will."

The same century witnessed the cultivation of other subjects than theology. Jurisprudence, both canonical and civil, occupied the lives of many; medicine and

chemistry began to attract attention. The former science could boast of professors as able as any who have followed them ; but the latter, depending on human experience, must always be progressive. The fourth faculty, that of philosophy, formed, with its sister theology, the chief attraction of the schools. The fate of Aristotle, the idol of so many subtle intellects, is curious. In the tenth century he was studied with ardour, more so in the eleventh, most of all in the twelfth ; but churchmen soon discovered that he might be turned into dangerous channels. Most of the heresies which arose in these centuries were imputed to him ; among others, that of Berengarius. It is, indeed, no wonder that any mind conversant with natural causes, sharpened by dialectics, and accustomed to weigh evidence, should discard "the prodigious dogma" * of transubstantiation. In 1209, the bishops of France condemned the Stagyrite, forbade him to be read, and consigned his works to the flames ; in 1215, the condemnation was repeated by the papal legate ; in 1231, by Gregory IX., who also proscribed the commentary on physics by Averroes. These anathemas, however, had no other effect than that of adding another stimulus to curiosity : Aristotle was read more than ever, in defiance of the church ; nay, the most distinguished sons of the church studied him in defiance of their head : they did more, they publicly lectured from him. Albertus Magnus and St. Thomas, disregarding alike councils and popes, gave him a celebrity which he had never before possessed, even in the schools of Bagdad, Syria, and Cordova. The professors of this school,—for a school in a general sense it may be called, in contradistinction to those who were led solely by St. Jerome, St. Augustine, and the other orthodox luminaries of the church,—have conferred greater obligations on modern philosophy than most moderns are willing to admit. For instance, Aristotle rejected the notion of innate ideas, and contended that the found-

* One of the happy expressions of Mr. Southey, — the most forcible writer of this or any other age.

ation of all knowledge must rest on sensation. The same doctrine was eagerly embraced by the doctors of Paris, who improved and expounded it : four centuries afterwards, it was revived by the French philosophers ; so that, when Locke undertook to introduce it into this country, he had little more to do than collect what had been already written, and adapt it to a different intellectual atmosphere. On this subject the reader may consult, besides the works of these doctors, the admirable historic views of Brucker, Condillac, and Victor Cousin, after which his reverence for the *originality* of our countryman will probably be greatly diminished.*

1300 The intellectual state of the *fourteenth* century offers to little original. The interminable wars with England
 1400. arrested the progress of the human mind. If we except the chroniclers, of whom Froissart is the head ; a heap of sermons *de tempore et sanctis* ; a multitude of romances, which, in fact, are but so many collected traditions ; and some versified compositions, there is little striking in the literary field of France. It was not so in Italy, where original genius began to flourish ; nor in England, where Chaucer and Gower, to say nothing of Wicliffe, conferred so much credit on their country. It is, however, certain, that, if she has fewer transcendent geniuses in this age, she has more writers. And she may console herself for this momentary inferiority, by the reflection that she has done more for letters than any European country. If she has not produced geniuses so great as some other countries : if she cannot boast of as much originality as some others ; still, in *learning*, — in collecting what has been written by other people ; in disposing these rich stores according to the laws of criticism ; in deducing from them consequences which the original writers did not anticipate ; in reducing chaotic materials to a lucid method ; in multiplying the means of information ;

* Histoire Littéraire de la France, tom. xvi. (Discours sur l'Etat des Lettres.) Brucker, Historia Philosophiae, tom. iii. passim. Condillac, Œuvres, tom. xvii.

in the honourable ardour which ascends to the sources of knowledge, however difficult the way, she has never been equalled. Into the fifteenth century we cannot enter. It is a new epoch, and the most memorable one in the history of the human mind. How the intellect was awakened ; how the stores of antiquity were explored and displayed ; how the mind, emboldened by its acquisitions, became independent, and elevated reason to the throne of fallen authority, may be seen in works devoted expressly to the subject.*

In the preceding pages, as must have long ago been perceived, we have not, even, incidentally, treated on the literature of Germany. For this omission we have two reasons : in the first place, we find the French part of the subject alone infinitely too ample to be grasped within limits so narrow. In the second, we have some intention of devoting a work exclusively to Germany, where its institutions, its character, civil, literary, and religious, will be examined at a suitable length. It is a boundless, almost an untrodden field, which will well repay the trouble of exploring. Yet we would not dismiss the volume, without affording the reader some means of estimating the character of Germanic literature. The extracts in the Appendix will suffice to give a general idea of Germanic poetry during the Middle Ages ; and poetry is the only literary subject that would have much interest for the reader. There are chroniclers enough, but so dry as to task the patience of the most determined student ; there are legends enough, but of these we have already given a fair specimen ; and there are sermons enough, but who on earth will peruse them ?

* Berrington, *Literary History of the Middle Ages*, book vi.



APPENDIX.

For the following extracts we are indebted to Taylor's Historic Survey of German Poetry,—a work which, though far from complete or comprehensive, must yet be viewed with gratitude, as the first methodical attempt of the kind in our language.

The first of these extracts, *The Lay of Vafthrudni*, which is translated from the elder Edda, has the merit of conveying no inadequate idea of the tenets of a religion professed by the northern nations of Europe,—by our Saxon ancestors, no less than by the inhabitants of Germany and Scandinavia:—

“ LAY OF VAFTHRUDNI.*

“ **ODIN.** Friga, counsel thou thy lord,
Whose unquiet bosom broods
A journey to Vafthruni’s hall,
With the wise and crafty Jute,
To contend in runic lore.

“ **FRIGA.** Father of a hero race,
In the dwelling-place of Goths,
Let me counsel thee to stay;
For to none among the Jutes†
Is Vafthruni’s wisdom given.

“ **ODIN.** Far I’ve wander’d, much sojourn’d,
In the kingdoms of the earth;
But Vafthruni’s royal hall
I have still the wish to know.

“ **FRIGA.** Safe departure, safe return,
May the fatal sisters ‡ grant!

* “ At present we have not access to the elder Edda, or we would translate it for ourselves. The one we now give, however, bears internal evidence of correctness.

† “ The Danish interpreters should not be always followed in the use of the words *god* and *giants*. The Goths and the Jutes were contiguous nations, part of whom ultimately became stationary in Gothland and Jutland. From the name of the latter, by coalescence with the article, is formed the denomination Teutones, Deutch. (Thus the French call the Antinous, le Lantin, instead of l’Antin, and the English, a newt, instead of an ewt, using, in fact, a double article.) These two nations were early hostile: Lucian (in his letter to Philo on history-writing) alludes to some account of a war between the Goths and the Jutes; and the Edda abounds with traces of their habitual rivalry. Vafhrudni was a king of the Jutes.

‡ “ By the fatal sisters are meant the three Nornies, Urda, *past*; Verandi,

The father of the years that roll
Shield my daring traveller's head !

“ Odin rose with speed, and went
To contend in runic lore
With the wise and crafty Jute.
To Vafthrungi's royal hall
Came the mighty king of spells.

“ ODIN. Hail Vafthrungi, king of men,
To thy lofty hall I come
Beckon'd by thy wisdom's fame.
Art thou, I aspire to learn,
First of Jutes in runic lore ?

“ VAFTHRUNDI. Who are thou ; whose daring lip
Doubts Vafthrungi's just renown ?
Know that to thy parting step
Never shall these doors unfold,
If thy tongue excel not mine
In the strife of mystic lore.

“ ODIN. Gangrath*, monarch, is my name.
Needing hospitality,
To thy palace-gate I come ;
Long and rugged is the way
Which my weary feet have trodden.

“ VAFT. Gangrath, on the stool beneath
Let thy loitering limbs repose ;
Then begin our strife of speech.

“ ODIN. When a son of meanness comes
To the presence of the great,
Let him speak the needful word,
But forbear each idle phrase,
If he seek a listening ear.

“ VAFT. Since upon thy lowly seat
Still thou court the learned strife—
Tell me how is named the steed
On whose back † the morning comes ?

present ; and Skulda, *future* ; who conjointly preside over the destinies of men. Gray is incorrect in giving to the Valkyries, or choosers of the slain, the name of fatal sisters.

* “ Gangrath means, *seek advice*.

† “ In the Grecian mythology, the gods of day are charioteers ; but in the Gothic, notwithstanding Goranson, they seem to have been cavaliers.

“ **ODIN.** Skin-faxi * is the skyey steed
Who bears aloft the smiling day
To all the regions of mankind :
His the ever-shining mane.

“ **VART.** Since upon thy lowly seat
Still thou court the learned strife —
Tell me how is named the steed,
From the east who bears the night,
Fraught † with showering joys of love ?

“ **ODIN.** Hrimfaxi is the sable steed,
From the east who brings the night,
Fraught with showering joys of love :
As he champs the foamy bit,
Drops of dew are scattered round
To adorn the vales of earth.

“ **VART.** Since upon thy lowly seat
Still thou court the learned strife —
Tell me how is named the flood,
From the dwellings of the Jutes,
That divides the haunt of Goths ?

“ **ODIN.** Ifing’s ‡ deep and murky wave
Parts the ancient sons of earth
From the dwellings of the Goths,
Open flows the mighty flood,
Nor shall ice arrest its course
While the wheel of ages rolls.

“ **VART.** Since upon thy lowly seat
Still thou court the learned strife —
Tell me how is named the field
Where the Goths shall strive in vain,
With the flame-clad Surtur’s § might ?

“ **ODIN.** Vigrith || is the fatal field
Where the Goths to Surtur bend.

* “ Skin-faxi means *shiny locks*; but to this horse is never ascribed the supremacy among horses. On the contrary, the saga quoted in Percy’s edition of ‘Mallet’s Northern Antiquities,’ vol. ii. page 109. expressly says: ‘The ash Ydrasil is the first of trees; Sleipner, of horses; Bifrost, of bridges,’ &c.

† “ The line *Nott oc nyt regien*, literally *night eke bliss-showers*, is misrendered by the Danish interpreter. It is only capable of the sense here given, as will appear by consulting the word *Nyt* in the Vocabulary of the Edda Sæmundar.

‡ “ Ifing signifies *strife*.

§ “ The last day of the week was consecrated to Surtur and named from him.

|| “ Vigrith seemingly means *drunkenness*, and Surtur the *funeral flame*

He who rides a hundred leagues
Has not crost the ample plain.

“ VAFT. Gangrath, truly thou art wise ;
Mount the footstep of my throne,
And, on equal cushion placed,
Thence renew the strife of tongues,
Big with danger, big with death.

PART II.

“ ODIN. First, if thou can tell, declare
Whence the earth, and whence the sky ?

“ VAFT. Ymer’s * flesh produced the earth ;
Ymer’s bone, its rocky ribs ;
Ymer’s skull, the skyey vault ;
Ymer’s teeth, the mountain ice ;
Ymer’s sweat, the ocean salt.

“ ODIN. Next, if thou can tell, declare
Who was parent to the moon,
That shines upon the sleep of man,
And who is parent to the sun ?

“ VAFT. Know that Mundilfær † is hight
Father to the moon and sun :
Age on age shall roll away
While they mark the months and years.

“ ODIN. If so far thy wisdom reach,
Tell me whence arose the day,
That smiles upon the toil of man,
And who is parent to the night ?

“ VAFT. Delling ‡ is the sire of day ;
But from Naurvi sprang the night,
Fraught with showering joys of love,
Who bids the moon to wax and wane,
Marking months and years to man.

The allegory in this case intimates that a loss of the faculties is the harbinger of death. Gräter translates it by *noise of battle, hurly-burly*; and is perhaps in the right. It might, however, be sought in real geography.

* “ Ymer answers to chaos. It means ever, or eternity.

† “ Mundilfær means *gift-bestowing*. The allegory, therefore, describes Beneficence, as producing the sun and moon.

‡ “ Delling, *twilight* ; Naurvi, *north* ; Windsual, *wind-swell* ; Suasuthur, *much-soothing*.

“ ODIN. If so far thy wisdom reach,
 Tell me whence the winter comes ?
 Whence the soothing summer’s birth,
 Showers of fruitage who bestows ?

“ VAFT. Windsual is the name of him
 Who begat the winter’s god ;
 Summer from Suasuthur sprang :
 Both shall walk the way of years
 Till the twilight of the gods.

“ ODIN. Once again, if thou can tell,
 Name the first of Yner’s sons,
 Eldest of the Asa-race ?

“ VAFT. While the yet unshapen earth
 Lay conceal’d in wintry womb,
 Bergelmer * had long been born ;
 He from Thrugelmer descends,
 Aurgelmer’s unbrother’d son.

“ ODIN. Once again, if thou can tell,
 Whence, the first of all the Jutes,
 Father Aurgelmer is sprung ?

“ VAFT. From the arm of Vagom † fell
 The curdled drops of teeming blood
 That grew and form’d the first of Jutes.
 Sparks that spurted from the south
 Inform’d with life the crimson dew.

“ ODIN. Yet a seventh time declare,
 If so far thy wisdom reach,
 How the Jute begat his brood,
 Though denied a female’s love ?

“ VAFT. Within the hollow of his hands
 To the water-giant grew
 Both a male and female seed :
 Also foot with foot begat
 A son in whom the Jute might joy.

* “ Bergelmer, *old man of the mountain*; Thrugelmer, *old man of the deep*; Aurgelmer, *original old man*.

† “ Vagom, *waves, ocean*. The waves, the subjects of Niord, the wind and sea god, are often personified in Scaldic song; and are called Vanes and Vauns in Percy’s Mallet. For what reason two words have been contracted into one by the Danish interpreter, to form the proper name Eli-vagi, appears not.

“ ODIN. I conjure thee, tell me now,
What, within the bounds of space,
First befell of all that’s known ?

“ VAFT. While the yet unshapen earth
Lay concealed in wintry womb,
Bergelmer had long been born :
First, of all recorded things,
Is, that his gigantic length
Floated on the ocean-wave.

“ ODIN. Once again, if thou can say,
And so far thy wisdom reach,
Tell me whence proceeds the wind,
O’er the earth and o’er the sea,
That journeys viewless to mankind ?

“ VAFT. Hræselger * is the name of him,
Who sits beyond the ends of heaven,
And winnows wide his eagle wings,
Whence the sweeping blasts have birth.

“ ODIN. If thy all-embracing mind
Know the whole lineage of the gods,
Tell me whence is Niord sprung.
Holy hills and halls hath he,
Though not born of Asa-race.

“ VAFT. For him the deftly-delving showers
In Vaunheim scoop’d a wat’ry home,
And pledged it to the upper gods ;
But when the smoke of ages climbs,
He with his Vauns shall stride abroad,
Nor spare the long-respected shore.

“ ODIN. If thy all-embracing mind
Know the whole of mystic lore,
Tell me how the chosen heroes †
Live in Odin’s shield-deck’d hall
Till the rush of ruin’d gods ?

“ VAFT. All the chosen guests of Odin
Daily ply the trade of war ;

* “ Hræselger, *corse-greedy*.

+ “ The Danish interpreters render Einheria by Monheroes, whereas it seems rather to answer to the Teutonic *Anherr*, patriarch, ancestor, fore-father.

From the fields of festal fight
 Swift they ride in gleaming arms,
 And gaily, at the board of gods,
 Quaff the cup of sparkling ale,
 And eat Sæhrimni's vaunted flesh.

“ ODIN. Twelfthly, tell me, king of Jutes,
 What of all thy runic lore
 Is most certain, sure, and true ?

“ VAFT. I am versed in runic lore
 And the counsels of the gods ;
 For I 've wander'd far and wide.
 Nine the nations I have known ;
 And, in all that overarch
 The murky mists * and chills of hell,
 Men are daily seen to die.

“ ODIN. Far I 've wander'd, much sojourn'd
 In the kingdoms of the earth ;
 But I 've still a wish to know
 How the sons of men shall live,
 When the iron winter comes ?

“ VAFT. Life and warmth shall hidden lie
 In the well-head that Mimis † feeds
 With dews of morn and thaws of eve :
 These again shall wake mankind.

“ ODIN. Far I 've wander'd, much sojourn'd
 In the kingdoms of the earth ;
 But I 've still a wish to know
 Whence, to deck the empty skies,
 Shall another sun be drawn,
 When the jaws of Fenrir ope
 To ingorge the lamp of day ?

“ VAFT. Ere the throat of Fenrir yawn
 Shall the sun ‡ a daughter bear,

* “ The Nifhelf of the text is probably an erroneous reading for Nifelheim—*home of mists*, which was the favourite epithet of the Goths for the nether world. Does Vaftrudni mean, by the nine nations, the nine regions subject to Hela ?

† “ The giant Mimis, and the spring which he has in custody, are mentioned in the eighth fable of the new Edda ; to this fountain-head the words *hod mimis* seem to allude. Gräter translates, ‘ Life and warmth shall lie hidden in the flesh of the earth.’ — See *Nordische Blumen*, p. 141.

‡ “ The Goths make the sun feminine and the moon masculine. This is natural in a cold climate. Among savages every male is a foe, every female a friend. Displeasing and unwelcome objects, therefore, are, in their lan-

Who, in spite of shower and sleet,
Rides the road her mother rode.

“ODIN. I have still a wish to know
Who the guardian-maidens are,
That hover round the haunts of men ?

“VAFT. Races three of elfin maid’s *
Wander through the peopled earth ;
One to guard the hours of love ;
One to haunt the homely hearth ;
One to cheer the festal board.

“ODIN. I have still a wish to know
Who shall sway the Asa-realms,
When the flame of Surtur fades ?

“VAFT. Vithar’s † then and Vali’s force
Heirs the empty realm of gods ;
Mothi’s then and Magni’s might
Sways the massy mallet’s weight,
Won from Thor, when Thor must fall.

“ODIN. I have yet the wish to know
Who shall end the life of Odin,
When the gods to ruin rush ?

“VAFT. Fenrir shall with impious tooth
Slay the sire of rolling years :
Vithar shall avenge his fall,
And, struggling with the shaggy wolf, ‡
Shall cleave his cold and gory jaw.

“ODIN. Lastly, monarch, I enquire,
What did Odin’s lip pronounce
To his Balder’s hearkening ear,
As he climb’d the pyre of death ?

“VAFT. Not the man of mortal race
Knows the words which thou hast spoken

guage, masculine; pleasing and welcome objects, feminine. In hot countries, where the night is more welcome than the day, an opposite allotment of gender takes place.

* “Hamingia, domestic genius, from ham, home, is the original designation.

† “Vali and Vithar are apparently the gods of death and sleep. Mothi signifies mould, corruption; and magni, nobody; so that these allegories obviously describe the state of the departed.

‡ “Vitris, wolf, is here mistaken for a proper name by the Danish interpreter.”

To thy son in days of yore.
 I hear the coming tread of death ;
 He soon shall raze the runic lore,
 And knowledge of the rise of gods
 From his ill-fated soul, who strove
 With Odin's self the strife of wit.
 Wisest of the wise that breathe,
 Our stake was life, and thou hast won."

But *The Sword, Tyrfing*, abridged from the Hervarer-Saga, contains the elements of traditions which, above all others, were universally diffused throughout the nations of Germanic origin. Within a few centuries, however, they have been chiefly confined to Iceland, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark.

" THE SWORD, TYRFING.

" In days of yore reigned in the north king Swafurlam. The land, over which he bore sway, was called Gardareich, and had been given to his grandfather Sigurlam, the fair-haired, for an inheritance, by Odin himself. Gardareich is often praised in the sagas, as one of the noblest boons which the father of the gods distributed among the braver of his companions ; fir-trees covered its mountains ; sheep fed in its valleys ; and dwarves dwelt in its havens, who forged weapons, and built ships for the sea-kings.

" Swafurlam had not degenerated : he was a great and a brave warrior, bold alike in battle or in duel. Whoever strove with him was sure to lose his life, or to owe it to Swafurlam's bounty. Even the dreaded Thias, who slew the father, found in the son an avenging overcomer. Swafurlam challenged him to single combat, and the giant fell beneath the might of this hero's sword.

" Swafurlam, having made himself formidable to the neighbours of his kingdom, lived in long repose ; and took to his bed Frida, the daughter of the giant whom he had slain, and who in consequence had become his captive. By her he had an only female child, the beautiful Eyfura, the blueness of whose eyes, the splendour of whose complexion, and the flaxen paleness of whose hair, were noised abroad by those skalds, who feasted alternately at the halls of the earls, and enlivened the hour of ale with songs in praise of beauty and of courage.

" Luck, like death, has its appointed hour. In Swafurlam's time, a mighty *kämper*, or champion, cruised about in the north seas, who was called Arngrim. He was grandson to Starkader, surnamed the eight-handed, and to the fair Alfhilda.

This warrior sea-king despised helmets and coats of mail, and, in opposition to common prudence, as well as to the usage of the times, undertook every battle and every duel, without hauberk or harness. By this practice he acquired the surname Baresark, which means *bareshirt*, and which became the family name of his descendants.

" What he might lose in point of safety by the want of armure, was replaced to him by the extraordinary fury which seized him when he was about to fight. In this state he resembled a madman, to whom every thing gives way because he is mad ; equal efforts of strength, of daring, of rapidity, of resource, would in his sober senses be quite impossible. The most courageous, the best armed champions had opposed Arngrim ; but, when his rage came on, he overpowered and cut in pieces every one, and seemed to feel at the time neither blow nor wound. As if he had a charmed body, made to deal death but not to feel it, he howled with a sort of exultation, while he struck in pieces his human prey.

" Arngrim, after roving about from kingdom to kingdom, came at last into the peaceful Gardareich ; and a rumour was soon spread that he desired to fight with the master of the country. Swafurlam, who had never been accustomed to shun a challenge, grew grave, when his messengers told him of the strength and of the character of Arngrim. The queen feared for the life of her husband, and Eysfura, though else heroic, wept with various alarms.

" Swafurlam, however, determined to put his fate into the hands of the gods. He ordered the lads to saddle his horse, and bring his hunting spear ; the chase he thought would divert his spirits and restore his activity. There is in hunting an all-absorbing whirl of idea, produced by the rapid changes of sensation, which has rendered it in all ages a willing refuge of the uneasy ; it leaves no leisure for other cares than its own.

" Into the forest near his dwelling the dogs were turned loose ; and he and his people had beaten the bushes for many hours, before any marks were discovered of the wished-for game. At length, a beautiful and bold white stag looked out of a bush, and then retired behind the fir-trees. Swafurlam uttered the halloo of pursuit, and spurred his horse after the fleet creature, which seemed to be making a joke of the royal hunter. It was now on the right, now on the left ; then it doubled back, then it darted forwards ; but whenever the hunter seemed to approach, and was lifting his arm to hurl the spear, the animal gave a prodigious bound on one side, and was afar in the twinkling of an eye. When at a distance, it would stop, and look round, as if disposed to wait for the pursuers,

and so keep within ken: and this it did at least a dozen times.

" The king grew impatient, but the more eager; he drove on with unrelenting perseverance over bush and brake, over hedge and ditch, over hill and dale. Night came on, but it was bright moonlight, and the fleet white stag was easily to be discerned. The king still chose to pursue. Midnight came on, and the stag was still running before the hunters, as much at its ease as ever; and stopping to look round for them, when they seemed at a loss, or disposed to halt from weariness.

" At length they came to a monstrous rock, which appeared to wall in the forest, to overlook its highest trees, and to form, by its steepness, an impassable barrier. The stag ran directly up to it; and, after bounding round in a circle until the king should draw near, it sprang at a crevice of the rock, struck its antlers against it, and totally disappeared.

" It had opened by the effort a pair of folding doors, behind which gleamed subterraneous fires. Two well-shaped dwarves presently came forth. The king, disappointed at missing his prey, and supposing them to have played him a trick and rendered the stag invisible, grinned with anger, uttered oaths of ill omen, drew his sword, and threatened to strike off their heads, unless they restored to him his game. The dwarves on their knees begged for their lives. ' What are your names? ' asked the king. ' Dwalin is my name, and Dyrin is my brother's name.'

" This answer startled Swafurlam. He recollect ed to have heard from his youth that two dwarves of this name were the mightiest of their race, and the most consummate masters of the art of making weapons of all kinds, to which they attached a magic virtue. ' Perhaps,' thought he to himself, ' the stag I have been pursuing was no common beast; but the elf who is my guardian spirit may have assumed this form to guide me to the dwelling of the dwarves. No doubt they could make me a magic sword, which would cut my way through my perils, and rid me of Arngrim Baresark.'

" Swafurlam now determined to profit by his opportunity, and softening the harshness of his tone, he said to the dwarves, with an assumed graciousness, that he would let them off harmless, if in three days they would make him a sword, which would neither miss its blow, nor rust, which would cut through iron as through a garment, and always bring victory to its grasper, in duel, or in battle.

" ' All this we will do,' said the dwarves; ' come hither in three days and take the sword.' Then they showed the king into the bowels of the mountain; where he saw wells of fire,

whence issued streams of liquid iron and gold, radiant as the sunshine. Dwarves unnumbered walked above the burning soil, and, whenever they stopped, flames came roaring out of the earth with a noise as of a stormy sea. They were black as moors, and showed to the king many magic weapons, which were to destroy the enemies of his race.

"It was day-break when the king returned to the upper world. He found his attendants stretched, in a deep sleep, at the threshold of the cavernous palace. No sooner were the folding doors closed behind him, than the spell ceased; the dogs started up and began to howl; the steeds snorted, rose, and pawed the ground; and the whole retinue returned home at leisure and in safety.

"After three days, the king, accompanied by a single follower, went again to the palace of the dwarves. Dwalin stood before the folding gates, and gave to the king a new sword, which he held already in his hand. 'Swafurlam, here is the sword; strong and good as thou hast commanded. *Tyrfing*, that is, *death of men*, is its name; let its first owner first beware.'

"These last words were pronounced in an oracular tone, which chilled Swafurlam to the back bone. The sword, which remained in his hand, felt to him cold as ice and heavy as lead. But the dwarves had disappeared; and when the doors of their dwelling flapped together in the king's face, a long clap as of thunder seemed to echo their retreat throughout all the hollows of the place. Swafurlam admired his sword and its splendid accoutrements, the curious richness of the workmanship, the yellow gloss of the gold, the blue amel of the steel, the straps of scarlet leather, and the buckle studded with precious stones. He began to draw it, and perceived this motto on the blade:—

" 'Niggard, learn a wiser hold;
Gripe thy sword, and loose thy gold.'

And on the other side:—

" 'Draw me not, unless in fray:
Drawn I pierce, and piercing slay.'

"Swafurlam now began to surmise that his insolent demeanour to the dwarves had undone all the good which his guardian elf, or hamingia, whom he supposed to have assumed the form of the white stag, had intended for him by conducting his course to the magical smithy. Still, however, he hoped, that the graven curses were not to fall on the first owner, and that the term *niggard*, which among the northern nations passed

for the bitterest reproach, was addressed to any other than himself. So much, however, of attention he lent to the motto as to sheathe the sword without wholly drawing it, and to proceed thoughtfully and slowly back to his residence.

II.

"Arngrim, the unconquerable, as he was called, had already arrived. The customs of Scandinavia did not forbid, on the contrary they required, the kind reception of a man whose defial was accepted. This implied sufficient equality of rank to entitle either party to the other's hospitality. Those would drink against each other over night, who were to fight against each other in the morning. It was a maxim of Odin, 'To the guest who enters your dwelling with frozen knees give the warmth of your fire; and offer water to him who sits down at your table, that he may cleanse his hands; he who has travelled over the mountains is in need of food, fire, and dry garments; their praise shall spread abroad who are kind to the stranger; the thankful guest brings help in trouble.'

"The queen Frida, and her daughter, performed their part of the reception with seemliness. They slaked in water the largest hams, and threw them into the caldron to boil: they plucked fowls and eider ducks for the spit, which an idiot-boy, a changeling of the elves, was employed to turn. They seethed parsnips, cabbages, and yellow turnips: they cut into smooth slices a vast loaf of rye-bread; and tapped a cask of the strongest ale, brewed years ago, the month after harvest. Eyfura herself went into the cellar, and brought to Arngrim the first tankard hissing in its foam.

"It was impossible for the queen to gaze without shuddering on her guest. He appeared about fifteen years younger than her husband, and still possessed that sinewy fulness of strength, which in Swafurlam was beginning to give way. Nor could she avoid recollecting, without some inklings of an impending retribution, that she had originally been herself the prize of a very similar visit of defial, and had been torn by Swafurlam from the grasp of a slaughtered father.

"After the repast, Swafurlam, as was usual, proposed drinking a cupful to the immortal memory of Odin; then his guest named Niord and Frea, as the divinities to whom he thought himself indebted for a propitious voyage into Gardareich; the third bumper was to be emptied in honour of Braga; but a skald was first called upon to sing a song in praise of

some champion of old. He chose the death-song of Ha-con * : —

“ Skogul and Gondula,
The god Tyr sent
To choose a king
Of the race of Ingva,
To dwell with Odin
In roomy Valhalla.

“ The brother of Biorn
They found unmail'd ;
Arrows were sailing,
Foes were falling,
Hoisted was the banner,
The hider of heaven.

“ The wicked sea-king
Had summoned Haleyg ;
The slayer of earls
With a gang of Norsemen
Against the islanders
Was come in his helmet.

“ The father of the people,
Bare of his armure,
Sported in the field ;
And was hurling coits
With the sons of the nobles.

“ Glad was he to hear
A shouting for battle :
And soon he stood
In his helmet of gold,
Soon was the sword
A sickle in his hand.

“ The blades glitter'd,
The hauberks were cleft ;
Blows of weapons
Dinn'd on the skulls.
Trodden were the shields
Of the death-doom'd of Tyr,
Their rings and their crests,
By the hard-footed Norsemen.

* This poem forms one of the five pieces in Percy's collection, and is by him referred to the year 960 : it is the triumph of northern song, the finest of the extant remains.

“ The kings broke through
 The hedges of shields,
 And stained them with blood.
 Red and reeking,
 As if on fire,
 The hot swords leapt
 From wound to wound.
 Curdling gore
 Trickled along the spears
 On to the shore of Storda ;
 Into the waves fell
 Corses of the slain.

“ The care of plunder
 Was busy in the fight ;
 For rings they strove
 Amid the storm of Odin,
 And strove the fiercer.
 Men of marrow bent
 Before the stream of blades,
 And lay bleeding
 Behind their shields.

“ Their swords blunted,
 Their actions pierced,
 The chieftains sat down ;
 And the host no more
 Struggled to reach
 The halls of the dead.

“ When lo ! Gondula,
 Pointing with her spear,
 Said to her sister :
 ‘ Soon shall increase
 The band of the gods :
 To Odin’s feast
 Hacon is bidden.’

“ The king beheld
 The beautiful maids
 Sitting on their horses
 In shining armure,
 Their shields before them,
 Solemnly thoughtful.

“ The king heard
 The words of their lips,

Saw them beckon
With pale hands,
And thus bespeak them :
‘ Mighty goddesses,
Were we not worthy
You should choose us
A better doom ? ’

“ Scogul answered :
‘ Thy foes have fallen,
Thy land is free,
Thy fame is pure ;
Now we must ride
To greener worlds,
To tell Odin
That Hacon comes.’

“ The father of battles
Heard the tidings,
And said to his sons :
‘ Hermode and Braga,
Greet the chieftain
Who comes to our hall.’

“ They rose from their seats ;
They led Hacon,
Bright in his arms,
Red in his blood,
To Odin’s board.
‘ Stern are the gods,’
Hacon said,
‘ Not on my soul
Doth Odin smile.’

“ Braga replied :
‘ Here thou shalt find
Peace with the heroes.
Eight of thy brothers
Quaff already
The ale of gods.’

“ ‘ Like them I will wear
The arms I loved,’
Answered the king.
‘ Tis well to keep
One’s armure on ;
‘ Tis well to keep
One’s sword at hand.’

“ Now it was seen
 How duly Hacon
 Had paid his offerings ;
 For the lesser gods
 All came to welcome
 The guest of Valhalla.

“ ‘ Hallowed be the day,
 Praised the year,
 When a king is born
 Whom the gods love ;
 By him, his time
 And his land shall be known.

“ ‘ The wolf Fenrir,
 Freed from the chain,
 Shall range the earth ;
 Ere on this shore
 His like shall rule.

“ ‘ Wealth is wasted,
 Kinsmen are mortal,
 Kingdoms are parted ;
 But Hacon remains
 High among the gods
 Till the trumpet shall sound.’ ”

The kings and their guests admired the maker of the song, and asked the name of this son of Braga. ‘ Eywind Scaldaspiller,’ answered the harper: ‘ he was the friend of the king, and was playing with him at coits when the pirates surprised the island, and wounded Hacon with a random shaft. Eywind himself, in his old age, taught me the song.’

“ ‘ And who was the sea-king,’ asked Swafurlam, ‘ who came to plunder Haleyg?’ That Eywind always refused to say; ‘ Unlamented and unnamed,’ exclaimed he, ‘ let them fall, who harbour not the hallowed voice of the skald.’ ‘ I can tell you who it was,’ said Arngrim, ‘ my father.’ Swafurlam proposed to couple the names of Hacon and Eywind, and drink their deathless memory with three shouts, as Braga the god of praise ordained.

“ Hereupon the queen and her daughter withdrew, aware that the cup of love would be called for, and handed round, next, and that it commonly gives rise to jokes, and sayings, which a woman may not be seen to hear. Frida and Eysfura, while going, were requested by Swafurlam to prepare the cup; they accordingly toasted, or rather burnt, some bread, and

quenched its flame in the ale, into which they grated some aromatic nuts, which had the property of causing love, and which were the gift of a wandering magician, who had presented them to the queen with other talismans. He had prophesied that Eyfura should wed a sea-king, and had been honoured for his visit with the present of a spiral bracelet of golden wire.

"From cheerfulness to noise, from noise to drunkenness, from drunkenness to sleep, the principal guests passed, or affected to pass, and Arngrim was carried last but one, and Swafurlam last, to his bed-room, by lads whose office it was to bring food and drink to the guests, but to observe sobriety themselves. They had also in charge to pile blocks of wood on the fire, and to feed and rub the horses of the heroes. These lads were sons of eminent chieftains in the neighbourhood, who, in the capacity of attendants, had the opportunity of learning the military and field exercises, and observing the manners of men of rank.

"At dawn, Swafurlam was already arming himself for the fight; and, by break of day, both combatants were met on the appointed spot. The queen and her daughter could see the conflict from their apartment. Frida shuddered for her husband; Eyfura seemed to feel a double anxiety, to which perhaps the unusually heroic figure of young Arngrim somewhat contributed.

"The duel began; Swafurlam was in complete armure, with his enchanted Tyrfing by his side. Arngrim had nothing to protect him, but a large firm shield, covered with plates of tin, and a common stout sword. The king struck first, and clave the shield of Baresark into two nearly equal parts at the first blow, but it was so violent a one, that he overreached himself, and stuck his sword into the ground. Arngrim quickly seized his advantage, cut off the right arm of his adversary, stooped down, extricated Tyrfing from the lifeless hand, and, swinging the fatal sword in the air, gave to the monarch's head a gash, which brought him to the earth. 'Mighty dwarves, was your vengeance to be so speedy?' exclaimed the queen, and sank into her daughter's arms: 'my husband, my husband is no more!' In fact, he had fallen under a mortal wound.

"The queen saw, with a sort of stupid grief, the corse of her husband brought into the great hall; pale and bowed down, she thought of the desertion which too probably awaited her declining years. Eyfura did what was possible to console her, and with sympathy replied to her bursts of anguish: 'Oh my father, Oh my mother! Oh forsaken orphan that I am!' These words were heard by Baresark, who was assisting the followers of Swafurlam to lay the corse in state. 'Princess,' said he, 'you

shall not be forsaken ; reach me your hand, and become my wife. Though by the laws of war you are now my booty, you shall be as content with me, as had I been a long acquainted wooer. Let us together quit this place ; your father is in Val-halla, your mother Freya will protect.'

" Eyfura, though a tender daughter, was, like all princesses of yore, too much accustomed to scenes of danger, slaughter, and adversity, to be wholly overcome by her grief, or unaware of her situation. Brought up amid wars and battles, educated to hear the deeds of the gods, and the adventures of the heroes, and the enterprises of the giants related daily, she had acquired a general idea of the rights of conquest, and of the usage of the age. The proposal of Baresark therefore did not surprise her. She herself was sprung from one of these burly marriages : for her mother Frida had become the prize of a like successful aggression. It is not to her reproach that she gave to Baresark an answer, which had more of welcome than repulsion.

" Whether Eyfura stayed with her mother until after the father's funeral, and whether the body was burnt, or buried in armure under a barrow, is not mentioned by the history ; but it appears that Arngrim, after stripping the residence of Gardoreich of what he most coveted, invited many of the dependants to assist in removing his booty, and to follow his future fortunes ; and that he thus carried off, with his bride, a considerable addition both of wealth and strength. Nor did he omit to gird round his waist the celebrated Tyrsing, the dangerous present of the dwarves. He reached in safety his own home of Bolmey, an island included in Halogaland, a part of the Norwegian coast, where his nuptials with Eyfura were announced with all the pomp of hospitality which the times and the region allowed ; skalds were invited from Iceland, to celebrate the event.

III.

" Thus were the dwarves avenged on Swafurlam for the insult of compelling them to redeem their lives with the gift of a sword. Dwalin's prophecy, that the first owner must first beware, had but too exactly been fulfilled by the event of the late combat. Far greater misfortunes seemed, however, to be portended by the mottoes on the blade ; and as the curses of dwarves, like those of the Nornies, eventually take effect, even if a whole generation has to await their fulfilment, a degree of uneasiness about them often afflicted Eyfura. After the first tumultuous enjoyments of marriage, she began to tremble for the life of her husband, and often begged him to give away, or bury underground, a weapon, which had been so fatal to those

she cared about. But Arngrim was too much the warrior, and too proud of his trophy, to let the timorousness of a woman alarm him into putting it aside. ‘Am I a niggard,’ he would ask : ‘can the motto be addressed to me?’ At other times he would repel her intreaties, by relating old stories about the dwarves, which showed that their curses were seldom fulfilled on the living generation.

“The all-despising courage and confidence with which Arngrim related these traditions, insensibly caused Eyfura to drop the subject; and as her husband habitually returned from his numerous cruises with glory and success, and brought home the spoil of powerful and distant chieftains, many of whom had fallen by the blade of Tyrfing, her fears at length subsided, and were forgotten in other cares. She lived much at her ease, and had the satisfaction year after year of becoming a mother, and always of being delivered of a son. She bore in all twelve sons: but the two youngest were twins, and their birth cost her her life. The eldest was named Angantyr; the second, Heerwart; the third, Sening; the fourth, Yorward; the fifth, Brami; the sixth, Brani; the seventh, Barri; the eighth, Reitner; the ninth, Tunder; the tenth, Bui; and the eleventh and twelfth were both called Hadding. But these twins, the last efforts of the now ageing Arngrim, were but half as strong as their brethren.

“Angantyr, on the contrary, who was the first-born, was a whole head taller than any of his juniors, and could do alone as much as any two of them with united force could accomplish. The warlike spirit of their father had descended to them all. In their boyhood they already delighted to wrestle and to box; and as soon as they were so far grown as to know the use of a sword, they went out to seek their fortunes, and assisted in many an inroad both by land and water. In these joint excursions their fraternal enthusiasm acquired great strength, and they swore to one another reciprocally everlasting fidelity and friendship. Each was to consider the other’s cause as his own: and if one was injured, or had any important undertaking to carry through, all the others were to take part in it. No one was to go on adventures of his separate account; no one to abandon the rest; but *all for one, and one for all*, to stake life to its last blood-drop.

“And this bond they kept. Where one was, all were. Each fought for the rest, and would defy the greatest danger for his brother’s sake. If a champion proposed to any one of them an ihand-meeting, he had to sustain successively a combat with the whole twelve. Added to this, they observed the custom of their father, always to appear without helmet or mail; and

hence they inherited the name of the Baresarks.* No less inherent in them was his rage in fight: but this fury was in them more frequent, more violent, and often ill-timed. Hence, if they were on board ship, with only their own people, and felt an attack of this animosity coming on, they were in the habit of landing, in order to vent their insanity on rocks and huge trees; for without something to hew and hack, until tamed with effort and fatigue, they were not masters of themselves. Once the misfortune had happened to them, in a fit of this kind, that they fell upon their own crew, slew every man of them, and cut into chips the masts and rigging of their ship. They spared no man: whoever withstood them they went against, and destroyed; and the marks of their daring and desolating spirit were scattered over a vast region. Hyndla sings truly,

“Manifold are the evils
Which the rage of the Baresarks,
Like storm, or flame,
By sea and land,
Has hurled on men.”

“ But these evils operated to produce submission to their will: so that princes and kings of the north cared not to refuse any request of the Baresarks, fearing to expose their lands, their people, or their homes, to the ravages of these formidable sea-kings.

IV.

“ Once the brothers had lain by for the winter, and were come to pass, at their father's house in Bolmey, the yule feast, which succeeded to the shortest day. On these occasions it was customary, after the Bragafull, or third cup of ale, to make peculiar vows to the honour of the god Braga. One of the vows thus made by a son of Arngrim has, on account of its eventful consequences, been recorded by historians, namely, the vow of Yoward, the fourth son.

“ He had waited until his elder brethren had staked their pledges, and when the great cup came to him, he held it up in his right hand, and said: ‘ By this cup, brothers, I swear to get Ingburga, the daughter of the great Yngwin, for my wife, or perish in the attempt: Braga blast me, if I do not! ’ Thereupon he emptied the cup. Now the princess Ingburga was the most beautiful and the most intelligent woman of her

* “The insane family of the Baresarks acquired great celebrity in the north, and is also mentioned in the Eyrbigga-saga, of which a copious abstract closes Weber and Jamieson's Illustrations of Northern Antiquities, printed at Edinburgh in 1814.

time ; and was daughter to the king of Swithiod, a land of the Swedes.

" In the ensuing spring, therefore, the twelve brothers set off together for Upsal ; and, as soon as they were come to the palace, they entered straightway at the men's door, and placed themselves at the table of the king. All the present persons were startled at this unexpected intrusion of the Baresarks, and looked at one another wondering. The king was sitting on his high seat, and the princess at his left hand. At table were the two famous champions and guardians of the kingdom, Hialmar the bold, and Oddur the far-travelled, also surnamed Dart-Oddur. The former had his place next the princess, whom he long had loved in secret, and for whose sake probably he had forsaken his father's court, and entered into the service of Swithiod.

" Yorward now began, and all listened eagerly for what he meant to say : ' King, I am come to win thy daughter for my bride : I have sworn, over the ~~cup~~ of Braga, to take Ingburga, or death : tell me soon, O king, what is to be the doom of my prayer ? '

" When Hialmar heard what was the errand of the Baresarks, and perceived that the king was somewhat irresolute about an answer, he arose from his bolster, and, standing close to the king's table, thus spoke : —

" ' You know, prince, that since I came into this land I have brought it honour and praise, and have fought many a successful combat to keep the kingdom safe for you and yours, abroad and at home. I have been, under the gods, the mean of extending your realm, and of bringing into your hoards much booty. I therefore ask a boon, such as my efforts and my birth have a right to claim. Give me your daughter ; I have long hoped for some occasion to make the prayer. I am better entitled to her than these Baresarks, who are strangers in your land, and propose to carry her afar off, and who are besides harsh and bad men.'

" This speech put Ingwin in still greater embarrassment. On the one side he reflected how powerful and how overbearing the twelve brothers were : of how famous a stem they were sprung ; how decorous, and even useful, might be their alliance ; how formidable and destructive their hostility. On the other hand he felt how much gratitude was due to Hialmar, the champion and protector of his kingdom, and how much the personal friendliness that prevailed between them would contribute to make him a welcome kinsman. Thinking to avoid the odium and risk of a decision between the rival claimants, the king said : ' You are both great men and well-born ; to

neither would I refuse my daughter, if only one had applied : as you have both spoken, let her decide.'

" ' Since the choice is left to me,' said Ingburga, rising with inexpressible dignity from her seat, and awing into stillness, by the full display of her beauty, the rising anger of the rivals, ' I will declare that choice. Hialmar, whose great and good deeds have been done here and for us ; Hialmar, for so many years my father's friend and mine, I shall prefer to the stranger, in whose land no one knows me or cares for me.'

" ' I shall have no words with you,' said Baresark to the princess, ' for I see you love him : but you, Hialmar, meet me at Midsummer, on Samsay : you are a niggard, if you fail to come ; or if you wed before you have fought.' Hialmar swore by Odin, that he would come at the appointed time.

" Then the brothers returned back to Bolmey, and related to their father the event of their expedition. Arngrim seemed dissatisfied, and said that Hialmar was a brave and a strong man ; and that he wished their visit to Samsey was well over. The brothers were too proud of their prowess to heed much such apprehensions. They stayed all the winter with their father, and in the spring began to prepare for a trip, which was no short voyage from their father's home.

V.

" The old Arngrim, who began to feel that he had not great many nights in store, observed with grief the preparation for an enterprise which his inklings led him to fear would be disastrous for his sons. When the time for their departure came, he said to them, ' Go, my sons, since you will go, and take your fate. If the Nornies please, you shall be lucky : at least, you have my good wishes, and my blessing. I wish you to win the battle, and come back to your father safe and sound, as many of you as may. But, my sons, I feel as if I should never see you more. My days are wintering apace : however, I will fetch you out of my hoard the best gift I can, to each a good sword. Angantyr shall take my Tyrfing ; it has long rested, but never rusted : perhaps he may win with it the king's daughter for his brother, and so use it as to escape the curses inscribed by the dwarves upon the blade. You have heard me talk of this sword, which was never drawn without killing its man, and which I always reserved for great extremities. Farewell, and come again.'

" Such were the parting words of the anxious old man : he accompanied his sons in silence to the ship ; took a sad leave, foreboding evil ; and returned to his lonely dwelling, brushing the tears from his white eye-lash.

" The Baresarks set off with a fair wind ; they sailed in a southerly direction, along the rocks of Norway, and after having passed the coast of Jutland, turned eastward into the bay, called the Skagerrak, which is the entrance of the Baltic. Here they could not behold the dwelling of their faithful friend, earl Biartmar, without resolving to land and to visit him. This earl, the lord of Alburg, had always been the confidant of the sons of Arngrim : he was a great warrior, and had many times lent aid, as well as shelter, to the Baresarks, when danger, or need, drove them to seek refuge in his hospitable home. They were now not far from the place of appointment, and had some weeks to spare before its date would arrive : but they had chosen to set off before their time pressed, lest adverse winds should prolong or intercept the earlier part of their voyage. This interval they determined to pass with their old and valued friend.

" Earl Biartmar was heartily glad of the arrival of his young guests. He caused a great meal to be prepared. His only daughter Swafa presided at the board ; she was now of a marriageable age, and her complexion was compared by the skalds to red northern lights reflected upon snow. Angantyr, in the course of his frequent visits, had often seen this young heroine with delight, and probably had long harboured the thought of asking her hand of the father. To-day, when the ale was circulating, and his heart felt warm, he took the opportunity, just after Swafa had withdrawn, of applying for her formally to Biartmar. To the earl this was a welcome offer : he called for the love-cup, which was next in turn, and insisted that the names of Angantyr and Swafa should be uttered in union by every guest ; and the cup was emptied by each to their honour. He himself withdrew, under the pretence of pointing out the chosen beverage, to whisper the incident to Swafa ; and he returned, full of satisfaction, to urge the ceremony of the toast. He determined that the marriage should take place at once, and announced the dinner of the very next day as the wedding-feast.

" On the morrow, the meal was doubled, the union declared ; and Swafa removed to sleep in the bed of Angantyr. The festivities lasted fourteen days, after which Yorward reminded his brothers that the time for the appointed combat was now at the door ; and that it became them to prepare for immediate embarkment.

" O that ye could for ever have remained with the friend of your heart, sons of Arngrim ; misfortune would not so early have fallen upon your heads ! How will your old father groan, when he hears the fate of his sons ! Your fall will be his fall !

O Biartmar, you have feasted your friends for the last time : your daughter has tasted the joys of love ; but she has tasted them for the only fortnight. Lonely henceforth shall be the life of Swafa ! O that ye could for ever have remained with the friend of your heart, sons of Arngrim ! misfortune would not so early have fallen upon your heads.

“ The last night before their departure Angantyr had a foreboding dream, which he related to the earl the next morning, after he had left the side of his grieving Swafa. ‘ I thought,’ said he, ‘ that my brothers and I were in Samsey ; and that a vast flight of birds came against us, which we utterly destroyed ; but we saw, following these birds, two eagles, and the one of them pounced successively at all my brothers, and left them stretched upon the field, and the other struck at me with its beak and its talons, and rose on its wings, when I aimed at it with my sword, so that I fell wearied to the earth.’ ‘ Tis not a dream hard to be guessed,’ replied Biartmar, ‘ it announces the fall of many men, and I fear some of you are meant !’ The Baresarks did not agree to the earl’s interpretation, and thought they had nothing to apprehend. ‘ All must go when the Nornies call,’ said the earl : and thus ended their talk.

“ The Baresarks now got ready, took their good arms on board, and set sail. Swafa begged to accompany Angantyr, but suffered herself to be detained by her father’s intreaties. Biartmar led her back from a high promontory, which she had climbed to take a last view of the vessel. The wind was brisk, and lifted the streamers ; the sun was bright ; and the ship, with its twelve heroes, scudded hissing along the waves toward Samsey, while the crew thus sung : —

“ Brown are our ships,
But the Vauns admire
The haunts of the brave ;
Horses of the sea,
They carry the warrior
To the winning of plunder.

“ The wandering home
Enriches the fixed one :
Welcome to woman
Is the crosser of ocean ;
Merry are children
In strange attire.

“ Narrow are our beds,
As graves of the nameless ;
But mighty our rising,
As the storms of Thor ;

He fears not man,
Who laughs at the tempest.

" Who feeds with corses
The whales of *Aeger*,
Shall deck his hall
With far-fetched booty,
And quaff at will
The wine of the earth."

VI.

" While the sons of Arngrim are sailing on, let us look back to Swithiod. The lovely princess Ingburga had not enjoyed one easy hour since the arrival of the Baresarks at her father's court. The champion Yoward continually hovered before her eyes, as he strode into the hall so daringly erect, and, presuming on the fame of his exploits, asked for her as his bride. She could not forgive the contempt, with which he received the declaration of her love for Hialmar. Yet her heart palpitated with anxiety, when she thought of the day, now alas nigh, on which the friend of her bosom was to take leave of her perhaps for ever ; and to fall, may-be, notwithstanding her parting blessing and her persevering prayers to the gods, beneath the sword of a ruthless ruffian.

" To Hialmar she knew she could not communicate her anxiety, without the apprehension of offending him, and of having to blush in his presence : she therefore endeavoured to conceal her sorrow. Still it was observed by those around, that gladness had forsaken her forehead, that her eyes were downcast, and often red with weeping, and that her cheeks lost more and more the roseate hue of health. Even during the public rejoicings of the people, when she was wont to set the example of courteous gaiety, she forgot the king's daughter, and, instead of leading the dance, sought only where to hide and pine. The day of all the goddesses, or the Yule feast, had no longer any charms for her. Only when the courage of Hialmar was sung by the skalds, or when he added some new oaken wreath to his victorious brow, and brought to her the trophy of his spoil, a lightning of hope would flash across her eyes, and kindle a proud inkling in her lifted countenance. ' Yes,' she would prophesy to herself, ' he shall return triumphant, my beloved, from his appointed meeting in the island ; my hero shall return a conqueror to my arms, and make me indeed the happiest of women.'

" The season of flowers was now approaching with swift steps. As the king was careful for the safety of Hialmar, partly because he also was of royal parentage, and was lord of

five shires ; partly because the kingdom of Swithiod was indebted to his courage for several acquisitions ; but especially because the welfare and happiness of his daughter, whom he tenderly loved, now appeared to be knit up with the fate of the prince ; he called together an assembly of the leading earls, to consult with them, what ought to be done for his protection in the approaching conflict with the Baresarks. After hearing all that could be learned of the circumstances, it was determined to fit out two armed ships, and to raise two hundred brave warriors, and to confide the command of the one vessel and of a hundred men to Hialmar, and of the other vessel and a hundred men to Oddur, his friend, and the fellow-champion of Swithiod. This arrangement pleased the king, who ordered the hall of weapons to be opened, that the young men, accepted by the two chieftains, might choose out new and similar accoutrements.

" At length broke the morning of the day on which their departure was to take place. The willing young warriors were clustering before the porches of the dwellings of the two champions, who had armed themselves splendidly, and were superintending in the open air a distribution of sliced bread and dies of cheese, while priestesses of the wife of Odin handed about bowls of milk drawn in the court of the temple. Hialmar was in complete mail ; but Oddur, beside his helmet and sword, had no iron armure ; instead of it he wore an Irish enchanted quilting, which rendered vain the force of steel.

" Presently the king came with his friends, and the princess with her ladies, to bid farewell to the heroes. Immediately a dinning sound was heard, as if the mace of Thor had struck on the kettle of Andrimner, which arrested the attention of all the gathering crowd. The tolls were repeated at measured intervals, while the smaller doors leading into the side-aisles of the temple opened creaking from within.

" The music of the warriors was then ordered to sound ; to the clang of triangular harps, to the blore of horns, and to the sprightly whistling of the bagpipes, the troops began to form. After circling for display in the area before the temple, called the field of Tyr, and brandishing their bright weapons with contemporary rapidity in the successive attitudes of combat, they proceeded in a long and narrow file toward one of the small portals, while the king and his train were admitted through a private opening in one of the central folding gates, to ascend the hustings, prepared for their reception opposite to the high altar.

" It was impossible without awe to pass into the great temple, and suddenly to exchange the clear blue light of heaven for

the dim and ruddy glare of the twelve pyramids of fire, which feebly assisted to discern the limits of the long, vast, dismal, enclosure, whose pillars and rafters were of a sooty black, and whose only window was the chasm at the summit of the turret, whence the smoke of the great altar climbed into the heaven of the gods, and revealed, by its ascent or its lingering, in what degree the worship of man is acceptable on high. The sharp-arched ceiling of the holy hall was concealed by an ever-billowing cloud, in which hung suspended numerous limbs of the victims that had been offered up. A fire always burnt at the altar, but the twelve pyramids of flame were kindled only for the hour of the sacrifice and of the meal : they issued from nets of iron hoisted on small gibbets, beside each of which two boys, chosen by the drots, and clad in canvass, were stationed, who fed the blaze continually by supplying it with fragrant shavings of the turpentine fir and with pine cones, and by waving to and fro the props, which only rested on a point.

"The fire-deuses, so these lads were called, but the name is also given to the northern lights, and to the companions of the god Surtur, were placed in parallel rows, adown the nave of the temple, on each side of the long table, at which the feasts of sacrifice are consumed ; but they stood closer at the upper end of the hall, so as especially to illuminate the colossal statues of the three gods.* Odin had a golden shield ; Thor, a golden crown ; and Frey had a chain of gold, which fastened all the three divinities to the corner stone of the temple. These precious gifts of royal piety were never tarnished by smoke ; the oftener they reflected the flames of sacrifice, the brighter they were seen to glitter.

"The troops of Hialmar were ordered to halt for a few

* "The triple idol in the temple of Upsal was first described by Adam of Bremen ; and Ruh, in the history of Sweden (vol. i. p. 31.), thus abridges the delineation, which, from motives of delicacy, is left in the original language.

"Adam von Bremen berichtet, dass im Tempel zu Upsala drey Gottheiten verehrt werden, Thor, der als der mächtigste ihre Stelle in der Mitte hat, Wodan und Fricco. Ihre Bedeutungen sind folgende : Thor herrscht in der Luft, gebietet über den Donner, die Blitze, den Regen, die Winde, die Witterung und die Feldfrüchte. Man bildet ihn mit dem Scepter. Wodan ist der Kriegsgott, der in volliger Rüstung vorgestellt wird : er ertheilt den Sterblichen Stärke wider ihre Feinde. Fricco schenkt den Menschen Friede und Freude ; sein Bild wird durch ein angezeichnet grosses Geschlechtsglied, vielleicht das Symbol der Fruchtbarkeit, erkannt.

"This Upsal idol was probably an imitation of the *Irmin säul*, or three-mans-pillar, which, from the time of Odin to that of Charlemagne, had been the favourite object of Saxon worship, and was erected in the neighbourhood of Paderborn. Charlemagne destroyed this monument of paganism, during his war against Wittikind. It was not a solitary one ; there is even much reason to suspect that the *Dreyfältigkeits säulen*, or trinity-pillars, still common in the south of Germany, are but re-baptisms by the Christians of other such pillars."

moments, before they followed him into the holy precincts. With Hialmar, a young man, his vassal, entered the temple, leading a cream-coloured steed from the land of the Saxons, his master's offering to Odin. As they went in at the door, the sacrificing priest struck, as hitherto, with the hammer of his mace on the broad edge of the huge round empty copper kettle at the altar. The wooden walls and steep roof of the building were felt to re-echo with the solemn tolls; and the white steed started. Every heart sank at the alarming omen. The crowd of spectators in a moment was still, as on the morrow of a battle. The princess Ingburga, propping her wrist on her father's shoulder, hid against her hand a face suffused with tears. The king himself turned pale, but maintained a motionless dignity.

“ Then Hialmar, taking hold of the single rein of the horse nearer the chin, and patting him at the same time on the shoulder, led him without further struggle up to the place of sacrifice, made the usual obeysance before the three images, especially before that of Odin, and delivered the victim to the priest. The hope of the spectators now returned, that the offering was accepted by the god of battle; and some thought that the statue pointed toward Hialmar the sword in its hand.

“ The priest next drew the rein of the victim through the holy ring, and brought its head into confinement between the two upright parallel stakes on the estrade of the altar. He then with the axe of his mace suddenly cleft asunder the forehead of the beast, and, cutting its throat the moment it was fallen, suffered the blood to gush into the huge brazen kettle of the gods: it spouted freely, and, while it was reeking forth, the prophetess emptied upon it three pails of water drawn from the holy well.

“ Another priest stood near, with a small birchen besom in his hand, dipped it in the blood, and sprinkled therewith Hialmar. Thus purified, the hero continued his returning way toward the other portal, followed by his hundred companions, who marched after him two and two, to the sound of military music, and were successively sprinkled by the priest as they passed the high altar. While the procession went on, the sacrificer again struck the sacred kettle: the tolls were perceived to be less sonorous, now that the hunger of the gods was partly appeased.

“ The offering of Oddur was made to Thor, and consisted of a he-goat. The creature walked impudently into the temple, leapt as if by choice on to the estrade of the altar, and seemed to push its head as if in sport toward the mace of the sacrificer.

No one doubted that the offering was acceptable to the weather-god. Oddur having made his obeysance to the three holy images, but especially to the crowned statue of Thor, which stood in the middle, and having been honoured with the aspersion of the consecrated blood, followed Hialmar out of the temple, attended in like manner by his hundred followers.

"A third sacrifice to Frey, the god of wedlock, made by the king's order, closed the ceremony. This was understood to announce his daughter's betrothment. It consisted of a sow, the emblem of matrimonial fertility. The creature was difficult to guide, and actually broke loose from its guardians after approaching the altar: it was finally lifted by four of the Drots upon the block of slaughter, and died with piercing shrieks. No symptoms of complacence were seen about the idol. The blood of the victim flowed freely, which was thought a good sign; and the spectators began to disperse, more desirous of interrupting than of prolonging a ceremony, which could not easily be flatteringly interpreted to the princess.

"Meanwhile the champions and their comrades proceeded in a long file out of Upsal, along the shore of the Mahlersea, in view of its many islands, to the town of Agnafit, in whose haven two ships of ash-wood lay ready to receive them. Oddur, the far-travelled, there commanded the two companies to separate: a hundred men climbed on board the one ship and a hundred on board the other. The weather was calm; oars were distributed; the rowers were divided into gangs, who were to relieve one another; and, when they had taken their places, Oddur informed Hialmar that all was ready, and withdrew into his own ship.

"The king and the princess had overtaken the march of the army in a harnessed sledge, and were by this time arrived on the pier, to bid a second less formal farewell to Hialmar. The hero could not but feel affected at this mark of so tender an interest. His feet seemed to refuse to move, and his lips to speak. He stood irresolute, silent, looking now at the king, now at the princess.—'Thanks, my lord,' said he to the monarch, pressing the hand offered to his shake, 'for the love and for the honour shown me: if the Nornies have so doomed, I shall soon be back.'—'Doubt not, brave Hialmar,' answered Ingwin, 'that you will be victorious as heretofore, and that I shall live to see the sun shine on your return, and the moon on your marriage. Odin bless you! Tyr strengthen you! Farewell!'

"'May all the gods shield you!' said the princess.—'Yes, may all the gods shield me,' replied Hialmar, 'that I may see you again, my lovely Ingburga, and obtain that prize for which

my life is willingly staked.' — 'Alas,' sighed the princess, scarcely articulate from grief, 'we shall at least meet again in those golden palaces where Gefiona assembles the virgin dead, if to Odin's board the Valkyries are to call you.' — 'Fear not,' said Hialmar: 'in this world first, and then yonder I trust we shall live together.' — 'Yes, yonder, on high at least,' — striking her bosom in agony, then folding him in her arms, and hugging him against her sobbing breast, — 'yonder, at least,' said Ingburga, 'we shall be joined — I feel, I feel our first embrace will be our last. Oh that I could go as thy shield-bearer, and give the death-blow myself to that Baresark, who wishes to stride into my chamber over the corse of my beloved! But I swear by Varra,' continued she, presenting him with her ring in pledge, 'that to whom ever Uller gives victory, I am the bride but of one.'

"Hialmar began to recollect that this melting mood was better interrupted. '*Ingburga or death!*' said he bawling: 'that is our shout, my friends!' Then, breaking loose from the princess, he strode with alacrity to his vessel. Thence he cast on her an expressive look, saw her leaning on her father's arm in an attitude more composed, and then struck with his sword upon the deck, as the signal for readiness. Music recommenced; and, as the vessels slid away, the oars dipped to the tune of sea-songs. The princess and her father gazed with melancholy pleasure at the gentle progress of the vessels along a smooth and glassy sea, and climbed a watch-tower, where torches were hoisted in dark nights, that they might pursue with their eyes to the very utmost verge of the horizon the slow course of the voyagers. Insensibly a breeze sprang up; and they could perceive the oars withdrawn, and the sails unfurled. At length, the ships having disappeared, they returned to Upsal. 'Niord preserve your son-in-law!' said the courtiers to the king. — 'May Frea hear your prayers!' said the young women to the princess.

VII.

"Meanwhile the champions sailed toward the Sheerlings; the day was fine and still, and seemed to promise a lucky voyage. When they came to the island Sott, a pleasing sound reached them from the shore. Beautiful girls were collected on the beach, and were singing in delightful unison. Hielmar had formerly rescued their country from the hands of the thick-bearded Jutes. They had heard he was to pass by; and they were assembled to greet their deliverer with songs, and to wish good luck to his undertaking. As the ships approached, they lifted their voices in praise of his courage and his kindness.

With shouts of glee they recognised his flag, which fluttered at the stern ; and several of them could discern brothers among his companions. Thus much of the song the sailors, as they passed, could hear or recollect : —

“ Be kind, ye gods ;
 Great Thor, be kind ;
 Bind thou the thunder,
 Rule the gale ;
 That the fair Sunna
 May ride in peace ;
 And Niord forbid
 Æger to be rough.
 So shall the ships,
 Like shafts of the archer,
 Reach their aim
 With whistling speed.”

“ No more of the words could the crew catch, while within ear-shot of the shore : but they felt cheered by the incident, and especially Hialmar, on whom the honest glee of the young women, and the recollection of the deeds, which lived in their gratitude, produced a most beneficial effect. Since the farewell of Ingburga he had hitherto felt in a desponding mood : now his natural spirits seemed with added vigour to return, like the animal glow after cold bathing ; to erase from his thoughts every gloomy apprehension, and to fill his fancy with the love of struggle, and the faith of triumph.

“ The champions continued their cruise, with a fair wind and a merry heart, along the coast of Swithiod ; steered safely between its numerous rocks, and entered the width of the Baltic, leaving Borgundarholm on one side, and passing between the coasts of Laland and Sialand into the Sound. Winds and waves remained friendly to them, until one clear morning they discerned the island Samsey. They made land on the south side, and cast anchor in the haven called Unarvogar, from its having been first frequented by the Huns of the East.

“ All seemed quiet in the island : no bird sang in the bushes, no tree rustled in the breeze, no beast brushed athwart the thicket, no footprint of man was to be seen. Hialmar and Oddur, curious for the adventure of the day, determined to go ashore, and to climb on the midmost hill, whence both the coasts can be discerned. Having confided to their trusty companions the care of the vessels, they proceeded to ascend, through a tall forest, the steep acclivity, reposing at times in barren plots, which commanded a reach of prospect.

“ Scarcely were the Swedish princes engaged in this expedition for exploring the region, when the sons of Arngrim

who had left the dwelling of earl Biartmar with a gentle and convenient breeze, also arrived ; they landed on the north side of the island, in the haven called Mumar, or the welcome. Yoward sprang first ashore, singing aloud, —

“ ‘ Hither, my brothers ;
 Hither, Angantyr,
 Heerwart and Seming,
 Brami and Brani,
 Barri and Reitner,
 Tunder and Bui,
 And both ye Haddings,
 ’Tis time to fight ! ’

and all the brethren jumped after him. ‘ We ’ll soon send the Swedes to Hela,’ said Seming.—‘ That we will, blast them,’ replied many, ‘ and get Yoward his wife.’—‘ My Tyrfing,’ said Angantyr, ‘ shall singe their pollis like a firebrand, and feed every raven in the island to bursting.’—‘ Here ’s one,’ said Brani, drawing his sword, ‘ shall rip up their entrails.’

“ Another and another bared his weapon and began hewing and hacking in the air. By degrees the fury of the Baresarks glowed in every sinew ; they could not contain themselves for thirst of blood, for lust of murder. They ran to the west side of the forest, they howled and jumped. Like those who flog their slaves in anger, they jerked their arms, they cut at the trees, and felled many, yelling with exultation, grinning with triumphant laughs, and stabbing at the imaginary foes. Some people of the island, for on this northern side the fishermen had a village, hid themselves in their hovels, supposing that the deuses of the woods were holding their yearly walk of destruction, and singling out their victims.

“ Hialmar and Oddur, though in progress toward this side of the island, were not yet within ken of the Baresarks, who by a westering and somewhat circuitous but not mountainous course, were tending to the haven Unarvogar, where they expected to find the Swedes.

“ No sooner did they get sight of the foe, than a twofold fury seemed to burn in their veins. They howled like dogs, they gnawed for anger the edges of their shields, they smote the air by their swords to and fro with whirring speed, they ran to the ships, and clambered on board, in sixes and sevens, yelling their war-whoop. The Swedish fighters showed admirable courage. No word of fear escaped from any one. Each stood like a post in his station, and gave no step of way to the mad blows. But neither all their bravery, nor all their despair, proved more than a mud wall against a chafing stream.

The Baresarks, first on board the one ship, then on board the other, cut and slashed and hewed and hacked whatever had life to pieces. Theirs was the deck, they alone could find space for exertion, the number of their antagonists only supplied a longer succession of victims. And thus the picked manhood of Swithiod, two hundred brave and tried warriors, became one and all a prey to twelve madmen. The ships reeked, like kettles of sacrifice, in which the bodies of victims lie boiling in their blood.

"The brothers, having fulfilled their slaughter, bounded on to the land: their rage had begun to abate from satiety, or weariness. Yoward, who thought that all were slain, and that the princess was already won, said proudly to his brothers, 'The weakness of age misled my father, Arngrim, when he held out this Hialmar and this Oddur, as the best of champions: you see neither of them has stood out against any one of us.' But Angantyr, who recollects his dream, thought their enterprise was not at an end. 'Let us not yet crow,' he said; 'perhaps, Yoward, though we have not found an equal, this Hialmar and this Oddur may not have fallen.'

"The two Swedish explorers returned from the height they had climbed, when the Baresarks had finished their massacre. They had discovered the landing, and in some degree the direction of the foe; but were so hidden by the trees that the Baresarks did not quickly become aware of their approach. The saga says,—

"‘ Suddenly fear
Came upon Oddur,
When he beheld,
All the twelve,
With howling and triumph,
Out of the ships
Jump on the island:
All the twelve,
Unhelm'd and unmail'd.’

"‘ Now you may see,’ said he to Hialmar, ‘ that our men have fallen, and that we may all of us expect to sup with Odin in Valhalla.’—‘ I am not for being of the party,’ replied Hialmar: ‘ the twelve Baresarks shall yet be sent with our apology.’

"‘ Such foes,’ said Oddur, sighing, ‘ I have never met; we can escape into the forest, we can await them with armed hand; but how can we at once take up a conflict with all twelve, now that two hundred of our people are either cowed, or destroyed?’—‘ Let us not fly,’ said Hialmar; ‘ fury has its

fatigues, and I at least must and will cope with their latest efforts.' It was thus agreed to advance toward them.

"They walked calmly together out of the precincts of the forest, and stopped on a rising ground to display themselves to the Baresarks. As soon as the sons of Arngrim saw them at a distance, they pointed, and shouted, and waved their bare swords, and announced a hostile approach, and bawled curses of defiance. Dripping with the blood of carnage, they advanced closely united; but their demeanour was calmer than before: they seemed, if not overawed, yet exhausted and debilitated. When the proverbial rage of the Baresarks accompanied them no longer, half their dreadfulness was gone. One of the brothers obviously surpassed the rest by a head in height; it was Angantyr, who brandished the sparkling Tyrfing.

"'Which do you prefer,' said Hialmar, 'to fight with that giant Angantyr apart, or to undertake his eleven brothers?' 'With Angantyr,' replied Oddur: 'my magic quilting will match his magic sword, and we shall, in fact, fight man to man.'—'How!' said Hialmar, who did not expect this answer, 'are we come hither that you should contest my pre-eminence? Do you covet to fight Angantyr, because you think it the bolder deed? I am the cause of this island meeting; I am moreover of royal blood; it is for me to undertake the utmost risk. Am I betrothed to the king's daughter to hand over danger to another? I will fight Angantyr.'—'Do so, if you like,' replied Oddur: 'you will have chosen the harder task.' Hialmar then drew his sword, and advanced toward Angantyr; each damned the other to Valhalla. The then elder of the Baresarks desired a hearing, how he wished to be behaved to in case of either event. He especially thought of the curse engraved on his sword, and wished it not to pass into other keeping, nor to be employed against his own brothers.—'This I should like,' said he, 'that if but one of us goes from here, neither shall take away the other's weapons; so that, if I die, my Tyrfing may be buried with me in the carn, and Oddur keep on his magic quilting, and Hialmar his complete mail; and that whoever survives shall heap a hill over the fallen.'

"They were all content to abide by these conditions; and having said so, Hialmar and Angantyr drew on each other. Both were so brave and so ambitious of victory, that it was needless to spur, or curb, the zeal of either. Their blows fell so hard and fast, that their armure struck fire, and sparkled like billets that explode in the burning. Each smote with a force as if to hew down a tree at a blow; and the very ground

trembled under them, as had it hung upon a string. At length, their harness being torn, they gave each other many deep wounds ; yet still the combat went on obstinately, and the issue remained doubtful.

" The eleven brothers and Oddur had long stood by to witness this extraordinary fight, and as yet saw on no side any appearance of victory, wherefore they determined to look for another place where to begin their own conflict. ' You will not,' said Oddur to the Baresarks, ' wish to behave as churls, and to take any unfair advantage ; you will therefore fight me one at a time, not all against one.' To this the brothers assented. Yoward, the author of the duel, as in duty bound, stepped forwards first.

" The combat began.* Yoward struck with might and main ; but the magic garment, with which Oddur was defended, had so well been fashioned by sleight, or spell, that no sword of man's making could cut through it, and its gashes seemed to close again as the weapon rebounded. Oddur, too, had a good blade, which ripped asunder a coat of mail like a linen jacket ; and by dint of it ere long he stretched Yoward on the ground, dead. Triumph, princess Ingburga, the forcer of thy wishes is no more ; thy choice is henceforth free. O that thy Hialmar were returned !

" When the other brothers saw this, they grew angry, gnawed again the edges of their shields, and foamed at the mouth. Herward stepped forth next, and attacked Oddur, but was served likewise, and killed on the same spot whence his brother's body had been withdrawn. Now the Baresarks howled for disappointment, they thrust out their tongues, they gnashed their teeth : their bellowing was like that of oxen waiting to be sacrificed, and was so loud that it was echoed back by the rocks.

" Seming, next to Angantyr the most formidable, now hurled himself upon Oddur, and grappled with him more after the manner of a wild beast than of a trained warrior. Oddur was greatly in danger of being disarmed and strangled by the onset ; but having succeeded in freeing himself from the grasp of his antagonist, and obtained play-room for his sword blade, he became in his turn the dangerous assailant, and cut into strips not only the raiment, but the skin of Seming, who did not yield until the flesh was, as it were, sliced off his bones, and he fainted and fell from bloodlessness.

" Brani advanced next. It was difficult for Oddur to keep

* " This combat of the Baresarks with Hialmar and Oddur has been elegantly versified by the learned Mr. Herbert, in his Icelandic Poetry, part i. p. 71."

his footing, so slippery was the ground become with gore every where within the ring. He sent, however, not only Brani, but all the remaining seven to the halls of the dead. Breathless and tired he was become, and bruised; still no gashed wound had been made through his enchanted acton: but such was his lassitude, that he sat down on the bodies of the two Haddings, who had been his last and easiest victims, and who had fallen one upon the other.

"As soon as Oddur had somewhat recovered his breath and his strength, he withdrew from his own ground, to see in what state was now the combat between Angantyr and Hialmar.

"Love and honour both contributed to warm the courage of Hialmar: he fought with persevering bravery, and pressed with so efficacious an activity against Angantyr, who was somewhat weakened by the previous boiling-over of his rage, that the eldest of the Baresarks had a difficulty in summoning sufficient remains of strength to keep possession of the field. Still Hialmar was receiving wound after wound, and at length the formidable Tyrfing asserted its privilege, and pierced him mortally through the heart.

"The effort was fatal to Angantyr, who fell at the same time, and died before his antagonist.

"Just at this moment Oddur reached the place of combat. Angantyr already lay stretched on the ground, grasping yet in his right hand the sword Tyrfing, his eyes glazed and still, but not closed. Hialmar sat on a heap of earth, bent forwards and pale as ashes. 'What ails thee, Hialmar,' said Oddur to him, 'that thou art so changed of hue? No doubt thy gashes bleed too fast; I see thy coat of mail is cut through and through: sharp was the sword of Angantyr: let me hold together the lips of thy sorest wound, it may the sooner staunch.'

"Hialmar raised himself a little, and, looking kindly at Oddur, said with a weak voice, 'Sixteen wounds — slit open my hauberk — that sword Tyrfing — its point was hardened in venom — I have felt its coldness in my heart — all I see quivers and will soon be night. — My friend, farewell; — take this ring — give it back to Ingburga. Ravens — the ravens of Odin come to overshadow me — my corse is ready.' Once more, but in vain, he tried to name Ingburga, and to press the hand of friendship to his heart; a hoarse sigh rattled up his throat, he chilled, he fell, he stiffened, and arose no more.

"As the evening was already come, Oddur stayed to watch the dead. The following morning he called the islanders together, and caused the bodies of the Baresarks all to be laid side by side in one place. Large trees were felled and placed as a bulwark around the precinct. The corses were then co-

vered with pebbles, sand, and turf. Their arms were buried with them, and Tyrfling was carefully left in the very hand of his master Angantyr. Finally, the islanders heaped much earth over the whole mound.

"The body of Hialmar Oddur took with him into the ship, and sailed back with it to the haven of Agnafit; he thence carried to Upsal the tidings of his sad freight. Ingburga soon determined on her conduct. The remonstrances of her aged father, however natural and affectionate, appeared to her in opposition to the dictates of an heroic honour. She chose, on the day when the remains of Hialmar should arrive for burial, to devote herself to Gefiona, the goddess of virginity, and to fling herself into the sacred well.

"Preparations worthy of the national magnificence of Swithiod were made for the funeral of Hialmar. A pyre of fir-trees was piled on the eminence allotted for his tomb. His weapons, his rings, his cup, his bracelets of golden wire, were collected and attached to his remains. His favourite cream-coloured war-horse, the companion to his inauspicious offering, was bound to a stake near which the body was to lie. A bier covered with bear-skins supported the corse; and twelve earls supported the bier. The drots went from Upsal by day to Agnafit, and returned by night, bearing torches and singing songs of lamentation on either side of the valued remains. Hedges of people bordered each side of the whole road. When the body was deposited on the hearth, and surrounded with faggots, Ingburga advanced to set fire to the pile; she then walked steadily by its light to the brink of the sacred well. A procession of priestesses followed at a respectful distance. The utmost silence prevailed. At the edge of the precipice Ingburga turned round, gazed on the broad aspiring cone of flame which now blazed in all its glory, and as if she saw the spirit of her beloved ascending on its wing to the stars: 'Hialmar,' said she, 'I join thee;' and was heard to plunge in the subterraneous waters. Immediately sobs and howls of lamentation broke loose from the innumerable crowd around. The king only, drawing a cap over his eyes, and clasping his hands, kept silence, while he was led to his couch by Oddur.

"Ingwin lived half a year, and Oddur was chosen in his room."

The preceding composition has the merit of more completely admitting the reader, not only into the spirit of northern literature, but into the character of the northern nations, than any other we could collect.

As we descend the stream of time, and explore the regions

illuminated by Christianity, we naturally meet with a new spirit, with new ideas, with feelings for the first time restrained by the power of conscience, by the new institutions, and by example. Of these institutions chivalry was the most influential. The following lyrical effusion, referring to the splendid period of the Swabian emperors, and from an anonymous pen, is wholly pervaded by the manners of the times : —

BALLAD.

“ ‘ Already gleams the eastern sky
 With gold and silver gay ;
 Rejoicing that the morn is nigh
 The lark salutes the day.
 Arise, ye knights, obey my cry,
 Nor with your ladies stay.
 At break of day
 In full array
 We must away.’

“ I heard the lay, while yet ‘t was night,
 The watchman’s call to start ;
 His singing ended my delight,
 And chill’d my glowing heart.
 My lady said, ‘ And is it light ?
 Alas we now must part.
 At break of day
 In full array
 You must away.’

“ The rising sun-beam sparkled o’er
 Tears on my lady’s face ;
 A hasty kiss she gave once more,
 And yet a soft embrace ;
 Then reach’d my acton from the floor
 The supple loops to lace.
 ‘ At break of day
 In full array
 You must away.’

“ Her ring she put my finger round,
 A ruby set in gold ;
 Then on my helm a riband bound ;
 And down the stairs I stroll’d,
 Below upon the turfy ground
 To mount my charger bold.

‘ At break of day
In full array
We must away.’

“ Now at the turret-window stood
Stately my lady bright;
She gaz’d upon the marshall’d crowd
And hail’d the glittering sight:
‘ To arms’ with heroine voice aloud
Waving her kerchief white
‘ At break of day
In full array
You must away.’

“ ‘ Amid the fight, each pennon white
Recalls to mind my love;
In fields of blood, with swelling mood
I see her kerchief move.
And by this ring, I ’ll bear or bring
Unbroken truth and love.
To arms! ’t is day,
In full array
To arms! away ! ’ ”

The following is still more characteristic of the times, and more romantic. It is from Hartman von Owe, who flourished also during the Swabian period : —

SIR COLGRIAND.

“ Far in the forest ere I got,
Methought mine was no pleasant lot.
Wild beasts unnumber’d ranged around,
Worrying each other on the ground:
Wolves, bulls, boars, bears, in many a score,
Bark’d, bellow’d, broon’d, with hideous roar,
Wielding, with hungry hate, the jaw,
The horn, the hoof, the tusk, the paw.

“ I check’d my steed to watch the fray,
And inly wish’d myself away:
But soon I saw the ugliest wight
That ever mortal had in sight,
And thought the beasts of better clan
Than this same monster of a man.

“ His head was bigger than a bullock’s,
Cover’d with tangled black and full locks

On lip and chin, on cheek and crown.
 His ears, like elephant's, hung down.
 His eyebrows were as black as tinder,
 His eyes as red as a hot cinder.
 His mouth was a span wide or more,
 And a huge hump his shoulders bore.

“ A fresh flay'd hide supplijed his cloak.
 Arm'd with a club of stubborn oak,
 He rose, stared at me, and drew nigh,
 Whether with good or evil eye
 I hardly knew ; but not a word
 Had either of us yet proferr'd.
 I thought him dumb perhaps, or slow ;
 But said, ‘ Who are you, friend, or foe ? ’

FORESTER.

“ ‘ I let alone, who lets me so.’

SIR COLGRIAND.

“ ‘ And what is here your office now ? ’

FORESTER.

“ ‘ I watch these beasts, prevent disaster :
 They fear me, own me for their master.’

SIR COLGRIAND.

“ ‘ Then make them cease this ravenous cry.’

FORESTER.

“ ‘ They 'll not annoy you while I am by.
 And what 's your business in a place
 Which feet of men so seldom pace ? ’

SIR COLGRIAND.

“ ‘ Accoutréed in this knightly guise,
 I seek adventures, bold emprise,
 Some champion, who in equal arms
 Will try a joust, and hazard harms.’

FORESTER.

“ ‘ You need not ride three miles for that.
 Beyond the wood a spacious plat
 Of grass displays its lively green :
 No prettier meadow can be seen.

A little chapel decks the centre,
 The sculptur'd porch, 'neath which you enter,
 Has, at each end, a marble prop,
 A bell beside, a cross at top.
 Its roof a linden overshades,
 The fairest tree in all these glades.
 A clear cool fountain springs hard by,
 Fram'd in with marble not breast-high ;
 Whence the unceasing streamlet tinkles
 Into a cistern it besprinkles.
 An emerald basin you 'll behold
 Chain'd to the brim with links of gold.
 Scoop water in the glittering shell,
 And fling it back into the well ;
 You 'll find you 've anger'd a stout elf,
 As fond of fighting as yourself.'

" The woodman pointed, as a guide,
 With his left hand, and turn'd aside.

" I rode along with thoughtful mien,
 And reach'd in half an hour the green.
 O 't was a lovely spot ! a view
 O'er woody hills and rivulets blue.
 A castle towering from the plain,
 The mistress of the fair domain.
 The trees so still, the air so mild,
 The sun so bright, the landscape smiled.
 And, on the linden, birds were thronging,
 All chirping, warbling, singing-songing ;
 Since world is world, was never heard
 So sweet a concert from the birds ;
 Had I been with a funeral train,
 My heart would have felt cheer'd again.

" I saw the chapel on the lawn,
 Just as the forester had drawn,
 The fountain with its marble rim,
 The glistening basin on the brim :
 The morning-star is not more bright,
 While watching for the dawn of light.

" When I beheld the emerald basin,
 Methought to hesitate at facing
 The upshot, would be acting lightly,
 Would seem unmanly and unknightly.

With rash resolve, in luckless hour,
 I got the basin in my power,
 Scoop'd water with the glittering shell,
 And flung it back into the well.

“ At once was quench'd the light on high ;
 Black storm-clouds gather'd in the sky :
 The lightnings flash'd, the thunders crash'd,
 Wind, rain, and hail, in eddies dash'd :
 The scatter'd leaves bestrow'd the ground,
 The trees stood skeletons around ;
 The birds fled toppling on the blast.
 The steed, I held, plunged, looked aghast ;
 But for the providence of God
 We both had perish'd on the sod.

“ Then silence all the scene o'erspread,
 Save where the waters gurgling fled.
 Slow sail'd the parting clouds away ;
 Again the landscape shone in day.
 But, from the castle's echoing mound,
 A bugle-horn began to sound.
 My ear a noise of engines smote ;
 The drawbridge bow'd across the mote ;
 A stately knight, arm'd cap-a-pee,
 Rode forth, and turn'd his steed tow'rds me ;
 I girt my saddle, and remounted,
 As if I on his coming counted.

“ I soon perceived this lordly elf,
 Had broader shoulders than myself,
 A stouter horse, a longer spear,
 A tougher shield ; and I felt queer.

“ When he was ridden near enough,
 He said in accents loud and rough :
 ‘ I shall not deign to ask your name ;
 You are no courteous son of fame.
 My forest you have half destroy'd,
 Have scared my game, and left it void ;
 ’Tis meet we try each other's strength ;
 Defend yourself, or lie at length.’

“ Spurring his charger to advance,
 He firmly couch'd his heavy lance.
 I levell'd mine, display'd my shield,
 And met him fairly in the field.

His breast-plate I no sooner struck,
 Than my lance splinter'd, by ill luck,
 While he, with a resistless force,
 Had thrust me backwards off my horse,
 And left me sprawling on the plain
 Chap-fallen, stunn'd, and bruised, amain ;
 Leading as lawful prize away
 The steed that bore me to the fray.
 Poor I trudged back on foot again —
 The whole long road explored in vain."

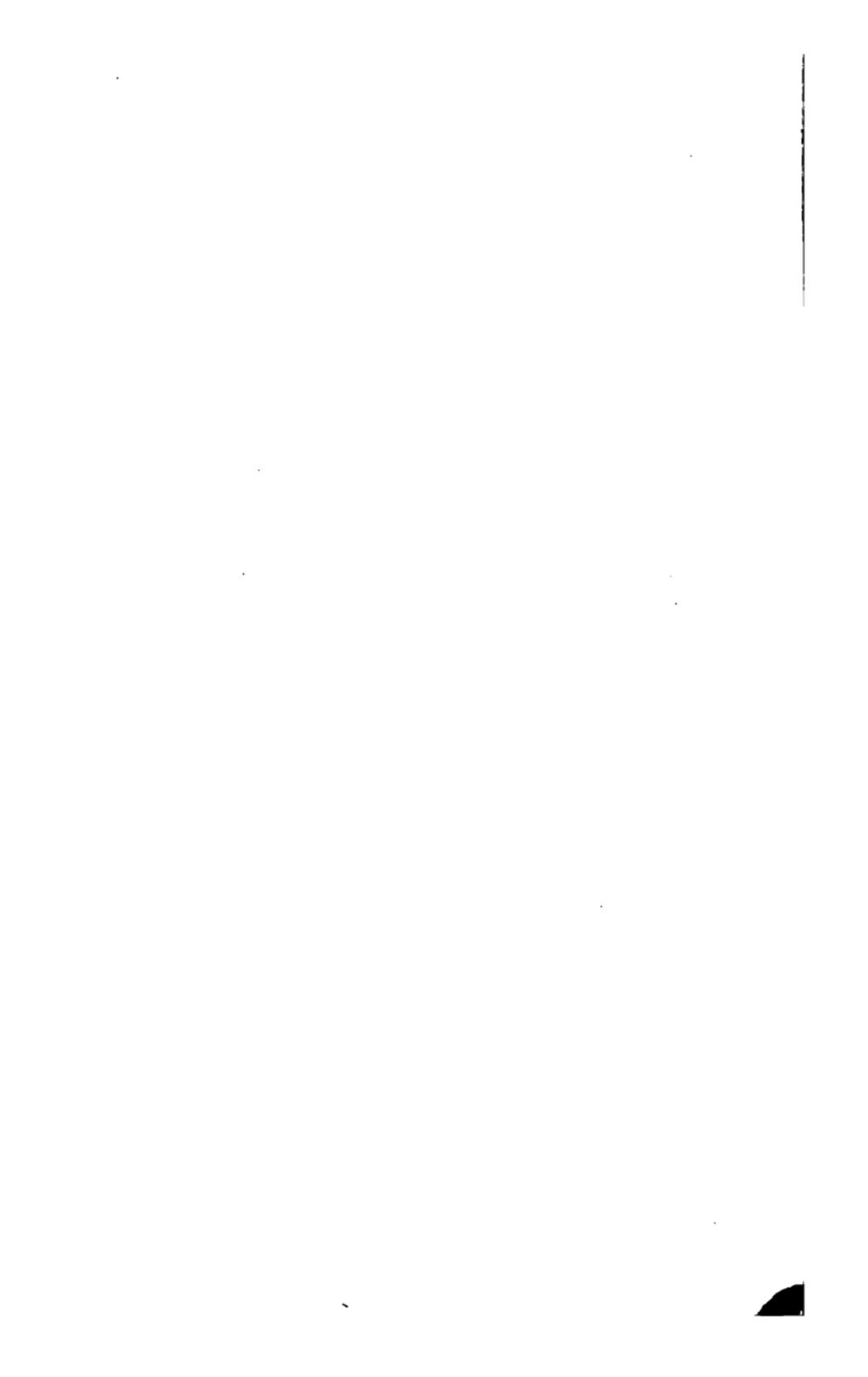
"This adventure is related by Sir Colgriand to the knights of the round table, in the presence of king Arthur. Sir Iwain determines to avenge the disgracce of his nephew, and repeats the same enterprize with opposite success ; he slays the elfin knight, takes possession of the castle, and marries the widow. The English romance is referred by Warton to the reign of Henry the Sixth ; but, as this German version is of earlier date, both are probably from an original in Norman-French."

We need not continue the extracts, which are generally of the same character, until the Reformation, and the spirit of religious controversy engendered by it, gave rise to a new school.

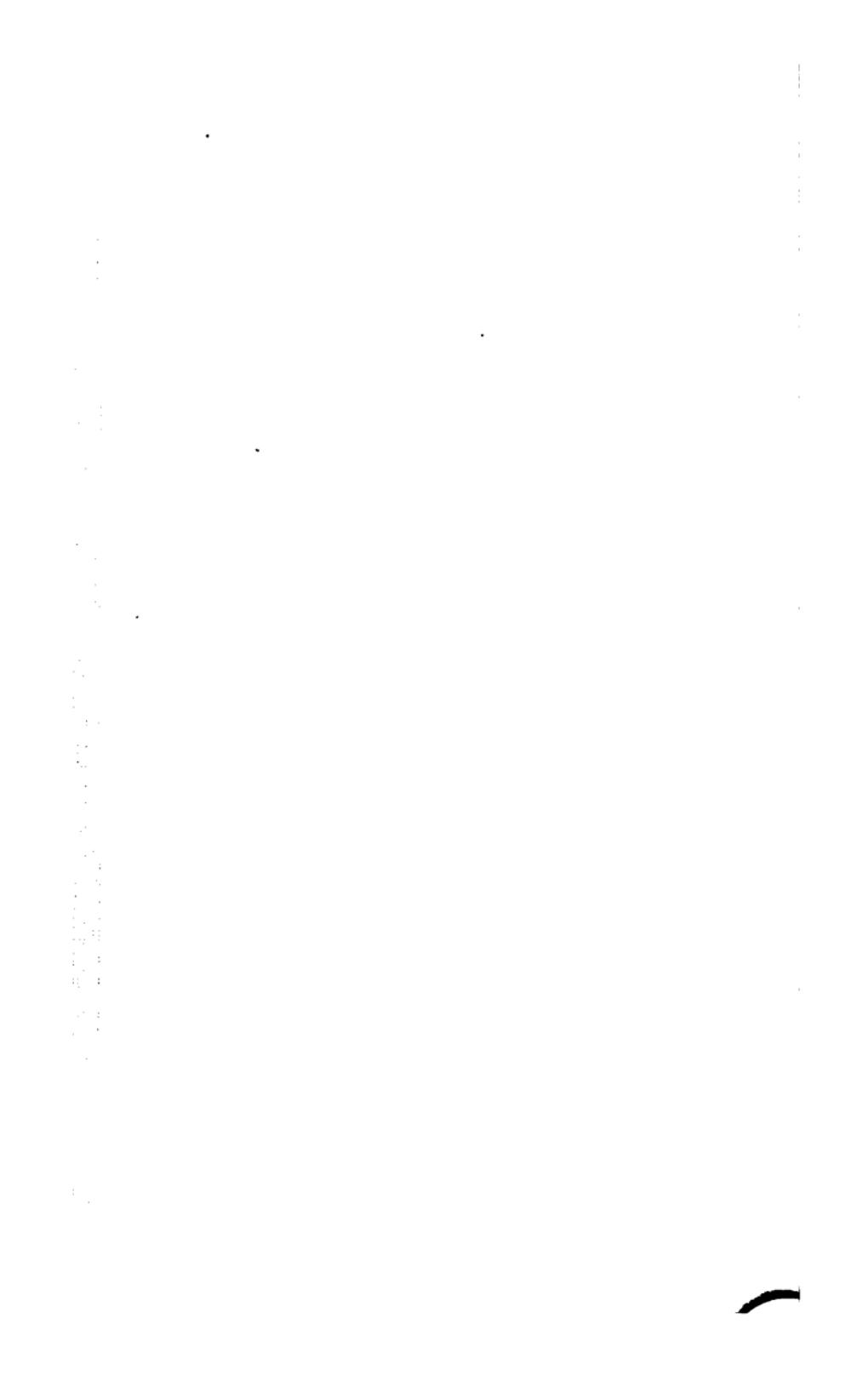
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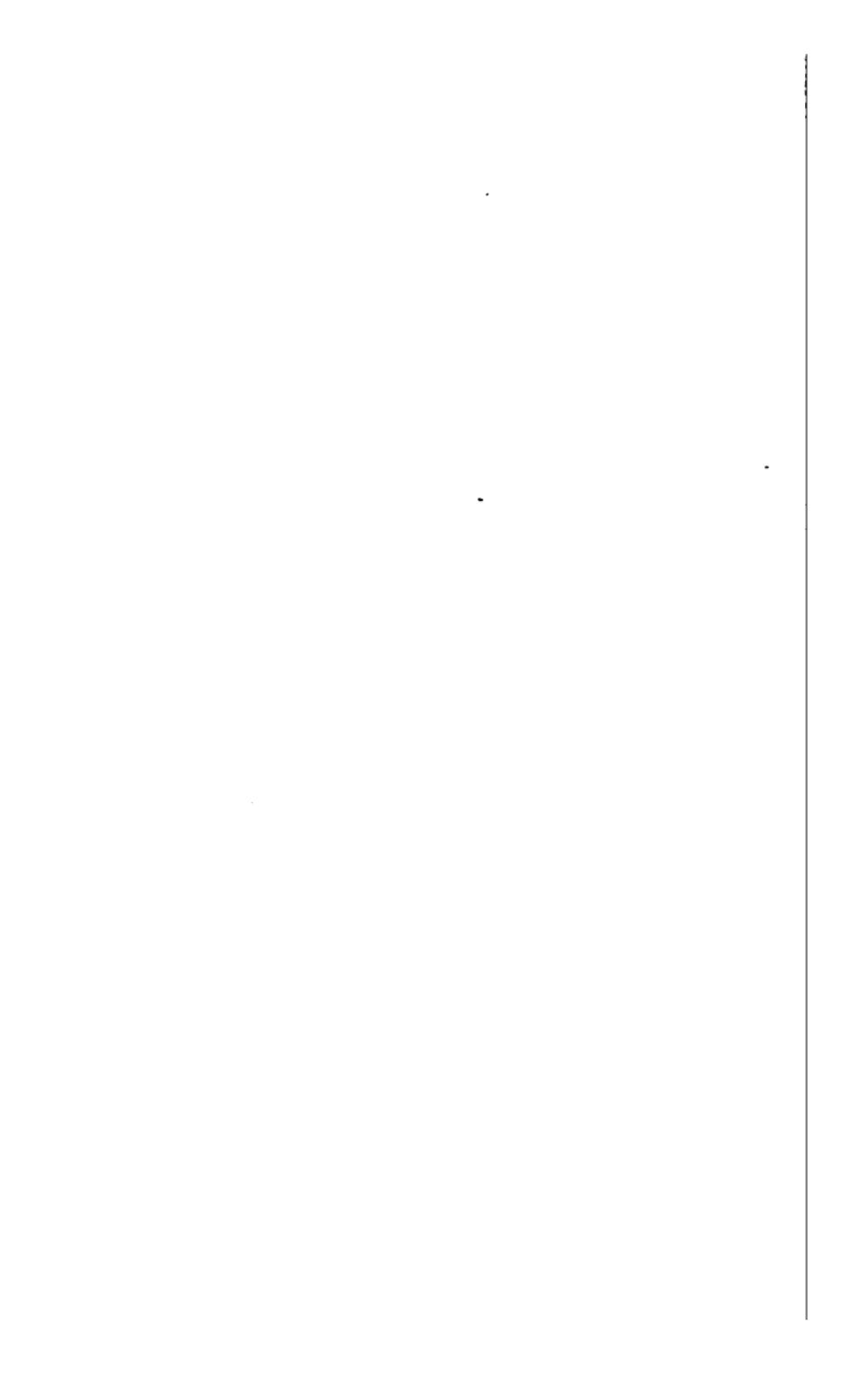
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